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The [✓]PRESENTATION *of*
CHRISTIANITY TO
MOSLEMS

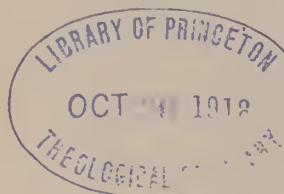
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THE PRESENTATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO MOSLEMS



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PRESENTED AT THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING IN NEW YORK,
DECEMBER, 1916.

Board of Missionary Preparation
25 Madison Avenue. New York

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME
BY SAMUEL JOHNSON

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PREFACE

The Board of Missionary Preparation, at its fourth annual meeting, held in New York City, December 2, 1914, adopted the recommendation of its Executive Committee that special committees be appointed "to investigate and report upon the special preparation necessary for foreign missionary candidates, if they are to be adequately prepared to present the Christian message to adherents of different non-Christian religions," and authorized the Executive Committee to make the appointments. At its meeting of March 23, 1915, the Committee constituted five committees on Animism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Hinduism and Mohammedanism, Rev. Charles R. Watson, D.D., becoming the chairman of the Committee on Mohammedanism.

The following report is therefore one of a group prepared by the Board of Missionary Preparation on behalf of the Mission Boards of North America, each report being issued independently.

These reports attempt the very difficult task of formulating for the benefit of missionary candidates and of junior missionaries ¹ the religious mind of the people influenced by each religion, their inherited tendencies and natural viewpoints, their presuppositions and habitual lines of thinking, the data of whatever nature with which he should become familiar who hopes to carry to them the Christian message and to get results.

It was not until the fall of 1915, because of unforeseen delays, that the Committee on Mohammedanism was able to get at its specific task. It then drew up an outline of the proposed report.

On November 15, 1915, the chairmen of the five committees, with the secretary and the director of the Board,

¹ In the reports issued by the Board of Missionary Preparation this convenient term is used to designate the young missionary up to the end of the first missionary furlough.

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held a special meeting at which an outline of each report was discussed by the group, with excellent results.

At the Fifth Annual Meeting, December 8, 1915, the report on the presentation of Christianity to Moslems was presented in still fuller outline to the whole Board, was carefully discussed, and then remanded to the committee for further development. About a year later the report was ready for printing and for wide circulation as a preliminary report to receive careful criticism. It was then sent not only to each member of the Board of Missionary Preparation but also to the following list of professional students of Islam, secretaries and missionaries, to each one of whom the Board is deeply indebted for the patient and painstaking cooperation so freely rendered by him:

The Reverend Canon John Ali Bakhsh, Clarkabad, Punjab, India.

Professor Mardiros H. Ananikian, S.T.M., Hartford, Conn.

Associate Professor of History and Languages of Turkey in the Kennedy School of Missions.

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Assistant Professor of Missions in the Yale School of Religion.

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Assistant Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in Canada.

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Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages in Bryn Mawr College.

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The Arabian Mission of the Reformed Church in America.

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Professor Thomas F. Cummings, Ph.D., New York City.

The Bible Teachers' Training School.

The Reverend Paul de Schweinitz, D.D., Bethlehem, Pa.

Vice-President and Treasurer of the Society of United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen (Moravian Church).

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The Church Missionary Society.
- The Reverend Canon Malcolm G. Goldsmith, Madras, India.
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- The Reverend George F. Herrick, D.D., New York City.
For many years at Constantinople, engaged in literary work for the American Board.
- Professor Samuel Ralph Harlow, Smyrna, Turkey.
International College.
- Dr. Walter G. Hiltner, Medford Hillside, Mass.
Harvard Medical School of China, Shanghai, China.
- Professor Edward W. Hopkins, Ph.D., LL.D., New Haven, Conn.
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- The Reverend Franklin E. Hoskins, D.D., Beirut, Syria.
Editor fourth edition First Font Reference Bible in Arabic.
- The Reverend S. S. Hough, D.D., Dayton, Ohio.
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- Professor Duncan B. Macdonald, M.A., D.D., Hartford, Conn.
Professor of Semitic Languages and Muhammadanism in the Hartford Theological Seminary.
- The Reverend A. McLean, D.D., Cincinnati, Ohio.
President Foreign Christian Missionary Society (Disciples).
- Professor J. Allen Miller, Ashland, Ohio.
President Foreign Missionary Society of the Brethren Church.
- Professor George F. Moore, D.D., A.M., LL.D., Litt.D., Cambridge, Mass.
Frothingham Professor of History of Religion in Harvard University.
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Educational Secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement, formerly a missionary in India.
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The Church Missionary Society.
- The Reverend W. W. Pinson, D.D., Nashville, Tenn.
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Instructor in Missionary Practice at the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Conn.
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Forman Christian College, Lahore.
- Elder W. A. Spicer, Washington, D. C.
Secretary of the General Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists.
- The Reverend Talib-ud-din, Kaulakha, Lahore, India.
Presbyterian Mission.
- Dr. S. Earl Taylor, New York City.
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- The Reverend L. B. Wolf, D.D., Baltimore, Md.
General Secretary and Treasurer of the Board of Foreign Missions of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the U. S. A.
- The Reverend Samuel M. Zwemer, D.D., Cairo, Egypt.
Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America.

The result of the wealth of friendly criticism thus obtained is seen in this published report. The enforced absence of the chairman, Dr. Watson, in the Near East for a long series of months made it necessary for other members of the committee, notably Professor Macdonald of Hartford, to cooperate with the Director in carrying through the work of revision, but the outcome of their labors has had the benefit of Dr. Watson's own judgment. The committee is under great obligation also to Professor Charles C. Torrey of Yale University, to Professor Birge of Smyrna, to Professor Ananikian of Hartford and to the Reverend Howard A. Walter of Lahore, for their generous assistance.

PREFACE

The report as published may fairly be termed a consensus of wide-ranging expert opinion. No pains have been spared to have it represent the present judgment of the missionary world, and useful, not alone to the novice, but even, in important respects, to the missionary of considerable experience; yet we do not regard what is here presented as a final statement on the preparation of missionaries for work among Moslems. Criticisms or suggestions will always be gratefully received, and should be addressed to the Director of the Board of Missionary Preparation.

To determine the proper standardization of the spelling of technical terms and of proper names in a report of this sort, which aims at accuracy and yet must avoid pedantry, is not a simple matter. The editors have concluded to adopt in general the authority of the Standard Dictionary regarding good English usage, with a free use of transliterations and footnotes.

FRANK K. SANDERS

Director of the Board of Missionary Preparation.

25 Madison Avenue, New York City,
September, 1917.

NOTE:—The scientific transliteration used has been kept as simple as possible. In the order of the Arabic alphabet it runs:

' b t th j ḥ kh d dh r z s sh ṣ ḍ ṭ z ' gh f q k l m n h w y.

Vowels: a i u ā ī ū aw or au ay or ai.

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THE PRESENTATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO MOSLEMS

INTRODUCTORY

This report deals with the practical missionary problem of presenting Christianity to the adherents of Islam,¹ and with the courses of preparation which will help the young missionary to gain efficiency in meeting this problem. It seeks to lay a broad basis for this efficiency in a preliminary study of the rise and development of Mohammedanism, the aim of which is to show its real values as understood by its votaries. The missionary to Moslems² confronts a system not only well organized, but very aggressive; not merely a product of the past, but still in process of development; a religion which cannot be summarily and sweepingly denounced, but has many interesting points of contact to which the thoughtful missionary will attach the broader and truer revelation of God in Christ. The missionary who sets himself to the study of Islam for the sake of ultimately winning Moslems to Christianity must be sympathetic, in heart as well as in mind, with his task, interested in it as one of the most difficult and important tasks of the present day.

The Moslem must be studied as he actually is; not merely from the standpoint of his intellectual difficulties in the acceptance of Christianity, but nationally, socially and religiously, as a human being who is part of a great working unity to which he is very loyal, or at least strongly responsive, who is swayed by all the varieties of environment,

¹ The word *Islām* literally means "giving over" [of oneself to Allah]. It is a convenient and proper designation for the religious faith introduced by Mohammed.

² An adherent of Islam is a *Muslim*, "one who gives over" [himself to Allah]. The usual English spelling is retained in this report.

motive and habitual impulse that modify the action of men everywhere.

This report is not intended to be a treatise, but rather a helpful and suggestive outline. Whole volumes have been written on phases of Islam which must find mention here in single sentences. For the full details of the history of Islam, of its theology and of its literature, the student must rely upon standard monographs to which due reference will be made; this report can only call attention to essential data. With all its brevity, however, its aim is to serve as a reliable guide to the student in regard to each particular phase of Islam's development, and, further, to discuss adequately the Moslem mind and how to guide that mind along lines of Christian experience. It therefore essays a highly technical task, involving not merely a reference to the historical origins of Islam and of the Moslem social fabric and government, but some insight into the legal, theological and religious development of Islam, and some acquaintance with the resultant sects, parties and schools, both in history and at the present day. The technical terminology which even the ordinary Moslems use is indicated, because every missionary to Moslems should be familiar with it. The efficient missionary needs to comprehend the intimate Moslem point of view clearly in order to make any real working connection between Moslems and Christianity.

The report has been written primarily for the missionary candidate and for the young missionary out on the field for the first time. Yet, obviously, the long process of education which develops an experienced and efficient missionary to Moslem peoples must continue throughout life. Missions have their own ways of contributing to this educational process which must be furthered by contact and experience no less than through careful courses of study. Past experience is beginning to show that a wise basis may be laid during the preparatory years for the acquisition of rich

experience, and that the first missionary furlough at home is capable of furnishing invaluable graduate training for the missionary to Moslems. He then realizes his shortcomings and eagerly sets himself to overcome them. The report has each of these three phases of experience in mind.

I. THE RISE OF ISLAM

An acquaintance with the Moslem world as it has developed during thirteen centuries into the organized unity of today, and which in its turn seems again to be breaking into rationalistic multiplicity, is quite essential to the Christian missionary. This historic approach is invaluable by its explanation of many facts which would otherwise seem puzzling or actually unreasonable. Many factors entered into the beginning of Mohammedanism, some of them historical, some racial, still others personal. It is scarcely accurate to say that Islam is a mere composite of these factors, for it has had a permanence and persistency for which only a real religious idealism can account. The personality of its founder is also deeply impressed upon Islam. Whatever may be our judgment on the character and influence of Mohammed,¹ we will not question that he was a very great man. Throughout its theological development Islam has managed to absorb many strangely diverse elements, elements which might be regarded as foreign to its essential nature, and yet it has remained Islam. Now it is trying to absorb practically the whole Western civilization and its ideas, and still to remain Islam. Any one whose purpose is to deal with Moslems needs, therefore, a very clear grasp of the historical growth of Islam.

(1) *The Environment of Islam*.—Islam had its birth-place in Arabia, a fact as important for a proper under-

¹ The name in Arabic is pronounced *Muḥammad*. The customary English spelling is followed in this report.

standing of its inner spirit and of its historical development as is the corresponding knowledge of Palestine and its history to a sane interpretation of the origin and growth of the Christian religion. The student of Islam should therefore become acquainted with Arabia, its peoples and their characteristics.¹ The habitable portions of the Arabian desert in the sixth century after Christ were occupied by great tribes characterized by independence of spirit, democracy of organization under patriarchal forms and marked individualism, quickly passing into violence, revengefulness, and intolerance of discipline, and leading a type of life which gave a large opportunity for both austerity and fanaticism. They were also passing through a great poetical period. With regard to religion, the Arab was, and is, somewhat hard-headed and cynical, but it is undoubted that the desert assists a man of religious spirit in developing a conception of God which is lofty and commanding. The last century of critical study by competent Western scholars has established the fact that Islam, as conceived by its great prophet, was a constructive composite which gave much recognition to the customary life of his people, while borrowing freely from Jewish and Christian sources and adding a stamp which was undeniably his own.

(2) *The Character and Experience of Mohammed*.—It is supremely important that the missionary to Moslems should be quite familiar with the life, character and spiritual experiences of the prophet of Arabia. Three phases of his life call particularly for study: his personality, his environment, and his career. Born about 570 A.D., a posthumous child, he early lost his mother also, and was brought up by his uncle. His early life was spent in an environment which brought him into contact with the vicissitudes of the life of the poor in a mercantile and purse-proud society. This

¹ Nöldeke has contributed a fine article on the "Ancient Arabs" to the "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," vol. i, 659. See, too, the article "Arabia" in the "Encyclopedia of Islam."

personal experience aroused in him a deep sympathy for the oppressed. He gained a wider outlook upon the world by accompanying caravans to various parts of Arabia and of Syria. The dates in his life are all very uncertain, except those of his death and of the migration to Medina, but it is substantially assured that at about the age of twenty-five he married a wealthy woman of strong personality but dubious social standing, and that they lived together in mutual esteem and respect. It is also fairly certain that, at the age of forty, he came under certain arousing spiritual influences which led him to questionings about religion, and which especially raised in him the fear of an avenging God. How to escape that future vengeance was his problem, and it weighed upon him to such an extent that his personality evidently became unsettled. He had always, in all probability, been psychically pathological, and now he began to hear voices and see visions. For a long time he was in doubt regarding their source, whether from evil spirits or from God. How he was led to the fixed conclusion that they came from God we do not know. How, again, he was led to connect himself with the whole scheme of Old Testament prophecy we also do not know, but we know it was a fact.

The influences bearing upon Mohammed in one degree and another were (1) the Judaism and Christianity of the day and their Scriptures, especially the stories of the prophets and patriarchs; (2) certain friends of his who were seeking a true religion just as he was (the so-called *ḥanīfs*); and (3) his position as a member of the tribe of Koreish¹ with its inherited ritual, part of which he disavowed, another part of which he incorporated into Islam for reasons which seem to have been those of policy. There are distinct signs also of the direct influence on him of a heretical Christian teacher. After he assumed the rôle of a prophet there were two outstanding elements in his teach-

¹ *Quraish* in Arabic.

ing, a theological and a social. By way of theology, he declared that the only God was Allah, a supreme God already so-called and recognized by the Meccans, who had added, however, a pantheon of subordinate tribal and local gods who were the real objects of their worship; that Allah would have a great future day of judgment, and that men must flee from that day by surrendering themselves entirely to Allah—that is, by becoming Moslems. As a social message he, like Amos, reiterated the rights of the poor as over against the rich, and laid upon the rich the care of the poor. And affecting all these various influences which have been mentioned must be taken into account an imaginative power, a command of language, a physical presence and a charm of character which gave Mohammed a unique personality, and attracted to him men of the most diversified qualities, and which help to explain how a great world religion swung upon the hinges of his life. On another side he was deficient in sense of form beyond even the ordinary Semite; he was a preacher and not a theologian; he could not retell straightly a story which he had heard; and though he possessed a poet's imagination and feeling for words, he could not produce poetry because of his lack in sense of form.

His career divides naturally into two periods at the year 622 A.D., the date of his migration (*hijra*) from Mecca to Medina. Before 622 the details of the life of Mohammed are very uncertain; after that date the events narrated have a better historical basis, yet only the most essential data can be held to be certain. In general, we know the facts of Mohammed's mind with far greater assurance than those of his life—his ideas better than his deeds. It is, however, of importance that the missionary to Moslems should know what the traditional view of the life of Mohammed is and has been, but he must always remember that that traditional life, as given in such biographies as that by Muir, or as characterized by Carlyle in "Heroes and Hero Worship," is

now regarded as open to grave doubt and is being subjected to searching historical criticism. What is important for the missionary is that Moslems believe it, not that it is true. Thus it is of great importance that the missionary should realize that the whole life of Mohammed for the Moslem is wrapped in miracle from his birth to his death. Nor does the Moslem seem to find difficulty in squaring this belief with the fact that the Koran expressly disclaims for Mohammed any power of working miracles. The ideas of Mohammed, however, which we gain from the Koran¹ are relatively reliable.

Whoever studies the two divisions of the life of the prophet can hardly fail to realize that he underwent a moral deterioration in the second period. After the Hegira Mohammed became the absolute ruler of his party in Medina, and under these different conditions his character rapidly altered. Through the doctrine of the imitation of Mohammed and through the influence of the Jihad (the laws governing the relation of Moslems and non-Moslems), a similar change is almost uniformly to be recognized in the lives of Moslem religious leaders, and especially in the lives of outstanding Mahdis. A holy person in Moslem history begins as a saint-reformer, but normally he develops into the founder of a new militant state, and his own character suffers under the change. From being a saintly reformer he passes into a conqueror by force of arms. In the case of Mohammed, this change of character left its mark even on the style of the Koran. Nearly all the chapters (*sūra*) belonging to this later period seem to lack sincerity; their subject-matter becomes more and more mundane and prosaic; their fire, terseness and rhythmic beauty fade away into prolixity, obscurity and wearisome repetitions.²

¹ In the Arabic the name of the Mohammedan Scriptures is *Qur'ān* which probably meant originally "a piece to be recited." The familiar English spelling is followed in this report.

² This will be abundantly clear to any one who reads the Koran in some approximately chronological order as in Rodwell's translation (No. 17).

(3) *The Formulating of the New Faith.*—While Islam has undergone important developments during the course of its all but world-wide spread, nevertheless the character and form it assumed during the lifetime of its founder were determinative of its type for all time. This was because it early became, in Islam, a positive religious duty to imitate the conduct of the prophet at all points. His usage (*sunna*) became a norm for all later Moslems. It is essential, therefore, for a clear picture of the development of Islam to see it as it lay in the mind of its founder. There religion and statecraft were always intertwined. The recognition of Mohammed as a religious leader involved the acceptance of him as the head of the state. Moreover, his belief in Allah as the one God involved the destruction of the Meccan pantheon. At first sight, therefore, the triumph of Mohammed seemed to mean the overthrow of the aristocratic system of the tribe of Koreish at Mecca and the loss of its privileged and vested interests, but that loss was avoided by the acceptance in Islam of the whole ceremonial of the pilgrimage¹ of which the Koreish were hereditary guardians. The basis for these developments, religious and political, lay in the revelations which came to Mohammed in fragments. These contained his theology and his system of law; parts were for edification, and parts for use in religious ritual; there were also political statements of his views and desires. Moslems themselves divide the content of the Koran into three: commands, prohibitions, and narratives. Before Mohammed the Arabs had had no Scriptures; the Jews and Christians did have such, and were respected in consequence; and it greatly added to the definiteness and standing of the new faith that the revelations made by Mohammed should have claimed the value of sacred Scripture. Further, the enlarging community of the faithful needed a

¹ In Arabic *hajj*, an ancient annual visit to the venerated *Ka'ba* at Mecca by pilgrims from all over Arabia.

simple code of legislation. This Mohammed developed, partly by revelation, but largely from the customary law of the Arabs, and thus fitted the new religion very precisely to the needs of the community of which he was the head.

II. THE SPREAD AND EXTENT OF ISLAM

The rapid expansion of Moslem authority constitutes one of the wonders of history. At the death of Mohammed, A.D. 632, his influence was still confined to Arabia, but during the short reign of the first caliph,¹ Abū-Bakr, the course of conquest had begun. Within forty years the countries on the east as far as the Indus had submitted to Moslem rule. Within a century the caliphate had pushed its conquests on the west as far as Spain and southern France. Within the longer period it had fought its way northward to the Caspian and, possibly, far on the road to China. Thus, after about a century, "the empire of the Khalifas extended from the Atlantic to the Indus and from the Caspian to the cataracts of the Nile."² These conquests were not all permanent, but they gave Islam a recognized place in the world. It is very much worth the while of the young missionary to know the data of Moslem ascendancy and occupation which relate to the district in which he is located.

(1) *Its Three Missionary Periods.*—The student of the history of Islam will need to distinguish three periods of religious extension. Islam has not proceeded uniformly and steadily, but, like Christendom, it has had an apostolic, a medieval, and a modern era of missionary expansion.³

¹ In Arabic *Khalifa*. The customary English word, Caliph, is used in this report.

² Lane-Poole, "The Mohammedan Dynasties," p. 6, a book which cannot be too warmly recommended as a very full, very concise, and mainly tabulated survey of Moslem history.

³ Consult Arnold's article "Mohammedan Missions," in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. viii.

The first period covered approximately the first century after the death of Mohammed. In A.D. 732, the victory of Charles the Hammer, the grandfather of Charlemagne, over the Saracens at Poitiers, set a barrier to the western sweep of Islam which it never overpassed. This first century was a period in which the lust of conquest was strengthened by the irresistible power of religious enthusiasm. With fire and sword the Moslem hosts established Islam in the available world of their day, and by more peaceful means gave it an introduction to the Far East. For the next few centuries, under the often universal headship of the Abbasid dynasty ruling from Bagdad, which was founded in 762 by al-Manşūr, the second of the line, Islam was content to dominate this vast Asiatic empire. It also dominated North Africa and Spain under the Umayyad dynasty ruling at Cordova, founded in 755 by Abdur Rahman.

The second chapter of the attempted conquest of the world by Islam began with the rise of the Seljuks in the latter half of the eleventh century. The vast realm, once united under one Mohammedan ruler, had become a collection of scattered kingdoms. The Seljuks of Turkestan, when converted to Islam, swarmed over western Asia, exterminating each little dynasty, and again created a real Mohammedan empire ranging from the western border of Afghanistan to the Mediterranean. These conquests bred a race of fanatical Moslem warriors to whose prowess particularly was due the repeated failure of the crusaders. They controlled as far as the Bosphorus. But their great generals gradually divided the empire again into a group of dynasties which were destined to give way, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to the Ottoman empire in western Asia and the Mongol empire in the East.

The Mongols belonged to a great nomadic confederacy which originally ranged the country north of the desert of

Gobi, owing allegiance to the Turks and to the Chinese. Their great leader, Genghis (Chingiz) Khan, was a sort of second Alexander the Great. Ascending the throne at an early age, he established his authority over the confederacy after thirty years of struggle, and in 1206 began a remarkable career of conquest. He was not a Mohammedan, but his successors, who had professed Islam, continued to conquer until they had brought China, eastern Turkestan, Afghanistan, and southern Russia under their sway. At about the same time India, of which only a corner had been held by Mohammedans, came as a whole under Mohammedan rule, and Islam became an established religious faith side by side with Hinduism.¹

The Ottoman Turks were first driven out of their home in Central Asia by the invasion of Genghis Khan. For a long time they were settled in Asia Minor, gradually increasing their dominions at the expense both of the Seljuk Turks and of the Greek cities, until finally, in 1358, they crossed the Hellespont and began the conquest of the European provinces of the Byzantine empire. After two centuries the Turkish rule was acknowledged from the Danube to the cataracts of the Nile, and from the Euphrates almost to the Straits of Gibraltar. The control of the Balkans and of Constantinople was, until recently, the evidence of this expansion of influence, however sharply checked to the north and west.

The third period of missionary expansion is comparatively modern. There was a great revival of Islam with an attempt at reconstruction in the Wahhabi² movement of the eighteenth century. This revival has found further expression in the dervish fraternities of Africa, in the "saints" who accompany the trading caravans, and in the pilgrims who return home after a stay at Mecca, the holy

¹ Lane-Poole: "Mohammedan Dynasties," pp. 284, 286.

² In Arabic *Wahhābī*, meaning an adherent of the reforming sect founded in the eighteenth century by Abd-el-Wahhāb. See p. 64.

city. Islam has been taken by them not only throughout northern Africa and into India, but also "into Russia, into the Malay Archipelago, and even among the Finns of the Volga."¹

(2) *The Explanation of the Speedy Extension of Islam.*—It is evident from the above that, as in all history, more than one set of influences affected this career of expansion. On the one hand, the adherents of Islam undoubtedly regarded themselves as the hosts of Allah, and the rush which carried all before them was truly inspired by that consciousness. There is no doubt that Islam was propagated, and by its essential nature must be propagated, by the sword. But this does not explain how the sword wielded by comparatively small armies conquered in so short a time so great a territory. There is a sociological explanation also. The time had come in Arabia, by reason of the overpressure of population, for a general movement outward which was aided by the weakness of the surrounding powers and made irresistible by the spoils of conquest. Another important reason is to be found in the fine leadership of those who headed the early armies and who founded the later dynasties. But among the greatest reasons of all for the rapid growth of Islam since its inception may well have been its simplicity, its idealism, and its spirit of democracy. It created a great brotherhood. This in turn led to great mass movements. Islam overcame the Christianity and the Judaism of its day because neither had the spiritual power which could entitle it to world leadership. The Christianity of the seventh century was, in the main, an unaggressive, formal Christianity, a caricature of the faith which Jesus founded. It abounded in intermediaries between the soul and God, had lost its early simplicity, and was lacking in ethical strength. Ecclesiastical oppression and consequent disaffection played a large part in its life.

¹ Zwemer, "Islam," p. 58.

This may well explain the rapid collapse of Byzantium in Syria, Egypt, and North Africa, while it succeeded in holding the line of the Taurus for centuries. The fall of Spain was due to sociological causes. Present-day Islam must be estimated from various points of view.

(3) *Its Numerical Extension.*—Very careful studies of the numerical strength of Mohammedanism throughout the world were made in connection with the Conference of 1911, at Lucknow. These figures, as revised by Professor Westermann and Dr. Zwemer, in 1914, gave a total of 201,000,000 of Moslems in the world. This includes 166,000 in North and South America, 2,374,000 in Europe, 156,000,000 in Asia, and 42,000,000 in Africa. Only six and a half percent. of the Moslems of the world were, in 1914, a part of the Ottoman empire.¹

(4) *Its Geographical Extension.*—The reasons for the limits of the borders of Islam at the present day can be stated from different points of view. It has been said on high authority that Islam is in the main a religion of the heat belt,² that is, of the tropics and the sub-tropics. There is undoubtedly a certain amount of truth in this position, but it cannot be laid down as the governing factor. Questions of race undoubtedly enter into the situation, both from the point of view of blood kinship and of environment. It may be said broadly also, that after the first century of conquest no really civilized race has given itself as a whole to Islam. In quite modern times the traffic in coolies has tended to spread Islam in quarters which it would not otherwise have reached—in the West Indies, for example, and in South Africa. The consequence is, that while there are large portions of the earth's surface which are solidly Moslem, Islam is also to be found sporadic in other

¹ The Moslem World, April, 1914, pp. 145-156. Other excellent authorities regard the estimate of 201,000,000 as too low by about 30,000,000.

² Margoliouth, "Mohammedanism." See, however, Professor E. Huntington, "Civilization and Climate," p. 333, Yale University Press.

quarters. In this the results of the artificially stimulated Moslem missions in Europe need not be reckoned. It is interesting, however, in this connection to notice that it is the quite heretical Moslem sects, which no orthodox Moslem would regard as being really Moslem at all, which have the greatest success. Examples of these are the Bahais¹ and the Ahmadiyahs. All northern Africa, penetrating also far into the center, and coolies in South Africa, are Moslems. Western Asia is Moslem, with the exception of the scattered and scanty Armenian, Nestorian, Christian Syrian and Greek populations. At least a quarter of the population of India and the people of Afghanistan, with other tribes on the northwest frontier and a large proportion of Central Asia, are also Moslem. Further east, in the Dutch East Indies and Malaysia, there is roughly a Moslem population of about thirty millions. The Moslem population of China has been estimated in the most varying fashion.² That in the northwest and southwest sections of the republic it is very considerable seems certain. In Japan there is only the same kind of Moslem propaganda as in England. It is significant for the geographical hold of Islam that when European territory has been reconquered by Christendom, the Moslem population has normally retired into solidly Moslem territory. Exceptions to this are Bosnia and Herzegovina, where there is still a considerable Moslem element. The Albanians have the distinction of being the only European race which almost solidly embraced Islam, but in Albania today probably not over two-thirds of the population are Moslems, a large proportion of them being only nominally so.

(5) *The Racial Types Which Have Accepted Islam.*—The rapid spread of Islam in animistic Malaysia and Central Africa and in shahmanistic Central Asia cannot but be

¹ *Bahā'i* and *Aḥmadiya* are sects described later. See pp. 65, 67.

² According to Broomhall it numbered in 1911 between five and ten millions. *Moslem World*, vol. i, 32 pp.

significant. It is possible, too, that the statement above with regard to the Albanian race might be historically contested, for it seems certain that the races of Spain at the conquest must have accepted Islam very largely. Immigration from North Africa was not great. On the other hand, while the reconquest was slow, it was very complete, and was evidently a triumph of the real Spanish race. In southern Italy and Sicily there was a similar situation both of conquest and of reconquest. The Greek population, on the other hand, does not seem to have accepted Islam to any large extent. It is also suggestive for the influence respectively of race and environment that the Hungarians became Christian and the Ottoman Turks Moslem. On the other hand, even yet there is a certain feeling of race kinship between the two. It has been suggested that the progress of Islam along the North African coast was aided by kinship of Semitic blood, and certainly the complete disappearance of the Christian Church of North Africa still calls for explanation beyond the breaking up of the Roman power by the Gothic invasions. Against the influence of racial types we have always to remember that solidarity of the Moslem brotherhood which has already been discussed. This means some unity in thinking and also a religious kinship from the Atlantic to the Malaysian seas and from South Africa to Siberia.

(6) *The Linguistic Situation.*—The four principal languages of Islam are Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish and Urdu. The primary fact is that Arabic is the language of religion, of law and of learning in the broadest sense for the whole Moslem world. For the Arabic speaking part of that world it is also the language of literature, and for all of that world of classical literature. It has thus the rôle in Islam of both Latin and Greek in Christendom. Non-Arabic speaking Moslem countries have their own vernaculars, and these often, as in Turkey and Persia, have

highly developed literatures of their own; but even these literatures have been very largely affected by Arabic, both as language and as a form of literary expression, and have also affected one another. Thus Arabic has affected Persian and Persian and Arabic have still more affected Turkish. Of Turkish, it may be said, for example, that while the basal vocabulary and the machinery of grammar are its own, yet Arabic words and phrases of a religious and scientific character have so affected it as to make such writing almost unintelligible to one who does not know the Arabic and Persian vocabularies, while the forms of Persian literary art have so overcome Turkish *belles-lettres* that a Turkish poem may be quite unintelligible to one who is not a Persian scholar. This influence is seen also in India in the somewhat artificial distinction between Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu. Urdu, as the language of the camp, has been most largely affected by Persian and Arabic; the others feel this influence in a diminishing degree. The other Moslem languages, such as the dialects of eastern Turkish, Pushtu, Berber, Kurdish, Malay and the African dialects, have been influenced in the same ways. The Arabic, also, spoken in the different Arabic speaking regions from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf, breaks up into marked dialects, and this has affected, in vocabulary, at least, the written Arabic of the different countries. In this connection it may be well to emphasize the fact that the missionary in these Arabic speaking lands must carefully distinguish between the language spoken by the people and that written by those who can write. The difference is sometimes almost as great as between ancient and modern Greek, or even as between Latin and Italian.

(7) *The Political Situation.*—There are five sorts of Moslem countries, past or present: (1) Those which are independent and under Moslem rule, such as the different Arabian states, Persia and Afghanistan. (2) Those which

are still mainly Moslem, but under Christian protectorates, such as Egypt and the Moslem protected states of the Indian empire. (3) Those which have been lost to Moslem rule entirely, but still have a Moslem population either in whole or in part, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina mentioned above, Algeria, Tunisia, Tripoli, Cyprus and Crete, and British India. Morocco seems to come between the second and third classes. (4) Those which have been reconquered by Christendom and have ceased to be Moslem even in population, such as Spain, Greece, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria and Servia. (5) The present situation of the Ottoman Empire is so uncertain and its future so dubious that it cannot be fitted into any classification. Of that great realm, for many centuries Constantinople has been in large measure the center of political influence and of persecuting activity; Cairo the great intellectual center, the brain of Islam, directing educational, controversial or propagandist measures; while Mecca has been the unquestioned center of religious activity, the heart that pulsates with a life which is felt to the farthest limits of Mohammedan influence.

III. THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAM

Islam as a system must be judged in the light of its social and political values, no less than from the standpoint of its religious achievements. But first, what is Islam?

There are four bases or sources for Islam, both as to theology (*kalām*) and canon law (*fiqh*): First, the Koran, the absolute Word of Allāh; second, the Usage (*sunna*) of the prophet, what he said, did or approved by silence, expressed in separate traditions, each called a *ḥadīth*; third, Analogy (*qiyās*) from Koran and Usage; and fourth, the general Agreement (*ijmā'*) of the Moslem people, expressed

through the opinions of those who by knowledge and study have a right to a personal judgment (*ijtihād*). It might be thought that the Koran, being the word of Allah himself, would be the dominant source, but while in form it is always handled with the greatest reverence, its plain statements have been modified, and even reversed, by both tradition and agreement. Agreement, especially, has come to have the final and absolute voice. Its status is expressed in an alleged tradition from the prophet, "My people will never agree in an error." In consequence, the Moslem people, when its judgment can be brought to an agreement, is deemed infallible. But the separate *ijtihāds*, through which such a result has been reached, are only fallible opinions (*ẓann*). The present reforming party in Islam hopes to use this principle to make Islam possible in the modern world.

Islam socially may be considered under three heads: the individual, the family and the community.

(1) *The Individual*.—Islam emphasizes the independence of the individual. Although the Agreement of the Moslem people is the final basis for decision as to what is of faith and practice in Islam, yet the religious relationship of the individual to Allah and his responsibility to him are independent of any organization. No church or priest comes between him and Allah. It is, of course, more meritorious to worship with the community, but individual worship is equally valid. The Moslem has no special relation to any particular mosque, as we have to a particular church, nor does the pastoral relationship exist between him and any of the officials of a mosque. His nearest approach to anything of this kind is his membership in a fraternity of dervishes. There he is part of a community and worships as such.

It is an individual duty upon the Moslem to gain such knowledge as will be necessary or useful for his life here

in the world and to insure his salvation in the world to come. All sciences are divided into those thus useful or not. It is his religious duty while cultivating the one class to avoid giving time or attention to anything which cannot be clearly shown to be useful for these purposes. He must therefore restrain himself from any curiosity as to the merely interesting. This limitation has been one of the greatest handicaps upon the development of the civilization of Islam. Another real limitation has been the theological nature of all education. Beginning with the boy who learns his letters from the Koran, the whole system of education has been molded to produce theologians. This supreme interest in things theological and religious has fostered the university end of education and has left undeveloped the common school. The teaching of the three Rs and the fostering of a wide spirit of interest in life and in the workings of nature have been made subservient to the production of divinity students. Few, however, can hope to take such a university course, and the consequence is that illiteracy is very general among Moslems. In no Moslem land can as many as ten percent. of the inhabitants read or write, while even in Egypt, which has enjoyed signal opportunities through an entire generation of British occupation, only four percent. of the Mohammedan population can read and write. Illiteracy, however, does not carry the same reproach in the Orient that it does in the West. Mohammed Ali, one of the ablest and most influential of Egyptian rulers, was illiterate.

The moral side of the life of the individual is largely affected by the duty of imitating the prophet. It is the theory of Islam that a religious man should model his life in every possible way upon that of Mohammed. Naturally, each man selects those traits in the life and character of the prophet which conform best to his own character. Mohammed had a many-sided personality. It would be pos-

sible for a truly moral man to find in the record of his earlier life a basis for moral conduct. It would also be possible for a man who is sensual, revengeful, superstitious, ambitious or scheming to find in Mohammed's life ample justification for the cultivation of those traits. It is also true that the casuistry of the schools of canon law has tended to put a system of minute rules of conduct in the place of moral principles. Yet we must remember that casuistry and legalism have everywhere exhibited this tendency. The ethical treatises of Islam, on the other hand, have always tended to go back to fundamentals. The individual Moslem will follow whichever of those two methods suits his character.

A final handicap upon the moral life of the individual is that Islam positively requires him to make a distinction in his attitude towards those who are of his own faith and those who are not. It is impossible for a Moslem who follows the Koran and the tradition, as is his duty, to be a sincere friend of a non-Moslem. Of course, many have been and are, but in so far they have abandoned explicit Islam.

(2) *The Family*.—The essential elements in the theory of the family are patriarchal control with its accompanying conception of woman as an inferior being and the duty of marriage within Islam. Islam regards the married life and the sexual act as essentially religious. It recognizes ascetic practises, both positive and negative, but asceticism in Islam has never required celibacy.

The social status of woman is lowered in four ways: (a) *By seclusion and the institution of the veil*. This has arisen through the Agreement of the Moslem people, and did not belong to original Islam. The passages in the Koran requiring it were meant to apply only to the wives of Mohammed and not to other women, but naturally later generations came to regard the treatment of the wives of the prophet as a guide for the action of all religiously

minded men and women. The veil and seclusion have therefore been extended as a general religious duty. Circumstances, however, have often militated against it. Thus the free life of the desert has never permitted either seclusion or the veil, and the same holds generally of the peasant classes everywhere. The higher the rank in society, the more carefully secluded have the women been. (b) *By polygamy*. The Koran, as interpreted by the Agreement, permits four legal wives at the same time. This, however, is limited in practice in many ways. The parents of a bride may so draw up the contract as to compel the husband to divorce her before he marries another wife. Also, they are often loth to permit their daughter to become a second wife. Conditions of expense are a real limitation, for each wife has strictly a right to a separate establishment. On the other hand, in certain classes, especially the agricultural, an additional wife may be a source of revenue, since the wives are all expected to work. (c) *By concubinage*. A man may lawfully treat his female slave as his concubine. The number of such concubines is limited, therefore, only by the number of female slaves he possesses. The children of such concubines rank, so far as freedom and inheritance are concerned, with the children of his free wives. It is, however, open to the master to deny that he is the father of the child, but this he seldom does. The mother of such a child cannot legally be sold. She remains a slave, but becomes automatically free at the death of her master and the father of her child. The practise is not unknown of a man buying a female slave, freeing her and then marrying her. This is supposed to secure a more submissive wife, since she has no family behind her to protect her. The essential difference between marriage and concubinage is that marriage and slavehood cannot exist together. A free man may be the husband of the slave of another man, but he cannot be the husband of his own slave. This has

produced some curious legal complications. (d) *By divorce*. The husband has the right to divorce at will, although this is often limited in different ways by terms in the marriage contract. He may thus be required in the contract to pay his divorced wife a very large sum as a sort of suspended dowry, if he divorces her against her will. The wife also has a right to divorce, but only on the action of a court of justice and for certain reasons, such as impotence, leprosy or non-support. To sum up, divorce is much more prevalent than polygamy. It and the unlimited servile concubinage are the great evils. Seclusion varies with social classes and in different countries and is regarded by Moslem women as a sign of consideration and care rather than as an imprisonment. Respectable Moslem women would in a very large majority resent being brought more openly before the world. At this point it becomes quite clear that the elevation of the social status of Moslem womanhood implies first her education. It should also be remembered that the oldest wife in the harem or the husband's mother (*al-kabīra*) has a position of respect and dominance which may under circumstances of character, etc., even override the patriarchal idea.

The treatment of children in Islam, as everywhere, has varied with the social conditions. Religiously a child is regarded as entrusted by Allah to the parents. Children, therefore, are not merely regarded as a joy and comfort to their parents; the possession of them also has religious meaning. The status of the mother in Parādisē will be affected by the fact of her having borne children, and the father may be aided after death by his predeceased children. All children are supposed to be born Moslems. Thereafter their parents may make them Christians, Jews, etc. Religious Islam has laid great stress upon the training of children. It has not developed a science of pedagogy, but all religious manuals treat of their religious nurture. The

nurture of children therefore is an excellent point of approach to the individual Moslem. Love and sympathy expressed toward his children, admiration of them, provided it is couched in a form that will not suggest the evil eye, will always bring a smiling response. All this, of course, is ideal Islam. The facts of actual life will be affected by personal disposition and by social conditions.

(3) *The Community*.—While the Moslem stands as an individual immediately in the presence of Allah it is the whole community of Islam, by its Agreement, which has a right to tell him what Islam really is, what he must believe and do. It would not be easy to exaggerate the intensity of the community feeling uniting the whole of Islam. It is true that from time to time separate national consciousnesses have arisen and that one of the most promising signs at the present time is the appearance of such in the Moslem world. A good example at the present day is the sharp division between Arab and Turkish Moslems. Yet the tendency has always been to knit all Moslems together in a common brotherhood, uniting them and setting them off against all non-Moslems. It is a chief glory of Islam that it has risen above the conception of inferior races. All races, black, brown, yellow and white, are equal as Moslems. This equality is not only religious; it is also social. There is in Islam nothing analogous to the social gulf between the European and the native which persists notwithstanding the uniting power of missionary teaching.

With all this strength of community feeling it is a singular fact that the Moslem world has not tended of itself to progress. It has enjoyed many more or less brief flowering periods, but these have always been under the stimulus of the patronage of an individual ruler or of a dynasty. They have always died down when that stimulus failed. Explanations have been sought for these individual cases of rise and fall; but their uniformity calls for a general

explanation, which is by no means easy to find. It may be that it is to be found, if in part only, in what has been written above on Moslem education (p. 28) and on the prohibition of interest in the non-immediately useful (p. 82). It is certain that the Moslem community has broadly exhibited a certain apathy and lack of public spirit. Islam has tended to encourage extreme submission to the will of Allah, no matter how desperate be one's poverty. What each one has is, in theological language, the sustenance (*rizq*) which Allah has granted to the individual and, the theologians say, "Let not a man think that he will not eat his sustenance or that another than he will eat his sustenance."

There can be no question that the institution of slavery has also played a part in hindering the development of the community, although the physical well-being of a slave in Islam has often been happier than that of the poor free-man. The fact in itself that slaves or their children may easily pass over into the ranks of free Moslems and that, in fact, the social intercourse between slaves and the free has always been easy, has tended to introduce into Moslem life the attitudes and vices that must characterize a slave population.

The missionary should always remember that the two classes of Moslems with which he is brought most nearly into contact are analogous, on the one hand, to our slum population, and, on the other, to our social Four Hundred. In neither of these would we look for marked community virtues.

(4) *The Government of Islam*.—A Moslem Sunnite government is a singular combination of democracy and absolutism. The theory is that the Moslem people shall govern itself, but that it chooses as an executive a single individual and gives him what is practically absolute authority. It is for him to administer Islam. He cannot make or even

promulgate either theology or law. He can only take what the Agreement of the people has reached and administer that. If he breaks any of the fundamental institutions of Islam, the people that chose and appointed him may recall him. This has meant in Moslem history absolutism tempered by revolution. But, of course, enterprising rulers and dynasties have found themselves compelled to establish laws without basis in the Agreement and even in opposition to it. In Turkey today we find a parliament set up and apparently dividing authority with the older-fashioned head of the state. This is explained away by calling the parliament a consultative body, and by pointing out that even Mohammed consulted with his followers at Medina. It must also be remembered that in theory the Moslem state is a church state and that Islam includes within itself both theology and law. The problem for the future Islam is to separate those two elements; and inasmuch as the combination goes back to the prophet himself, and has been sanctioned by the Agreement for a thousand years, it is hard to see how that unity can be relaxed and Islam be turned into a modern political state. For this reason it has never been possible for non-Moslems to be citizens in a Moslem state; they have been the wards of the state. But now in practically all Moslem states, except perhaps those of central Arabia, the canon law of Islam applies only to matters of marriage, divorce, inheritance and to all personal religious affairs, while other legal relations are under different law codes. In Turkey, e.g., the code is a form of the Code Napoléon. This holds especially of Moslem states under non-Moslem protection or control, where the public law code has been imposed upon them from without. But the same tendency appeared in Islam practically from the first.

(5) *The Constitutional Development of Islam.*—With the death of Mohammed the Mohammedan state faced a future

for which it had few precedents. Mohammed had been a prophet-ruler and though he had consulted with his followers, yet no one could deny his divinely-given authority. Under his rule the Moslem state was a theocracy, because the ruler of the state was Allah through the mouth of Mohammed, his prophet, but under Mohammed's successors the rule passed in theory most absolutely to the Moslem people. The term theocracy, therefore, no longer applied to the Moslem state. The ruling successor of the prophet therefore could not be exactly like him, although he was to be called his successor (*khalifa*). The government of an Arab tribe afforded little guidance, for its sheiks have never exercised anything but a kind of influence and the people of Islam were facing a future for which some more centralized and autocratic government was essential. As has been said above, the Moslem people decided to select a single head and to make him their executive. Two principles of selection were permitted, one of election by the people, the other of nomination by his predecessor. The first four caliphs, Abu Bekr (*Abū Bakr*), Omar (*ʿUmar*), Othman (*ʿUthmān*) and Ali (*ʿAlī*), were chosen in gradually increasing tribal jealousy and strife. Their rule covered about thirty years, looked back to by later Islam as a golden age. They are called the "rightly guided" caliphs. Political chaos followed for a time, until the Omayyad dynasty swung itself to power, and removed the seat of the government to Damascus. But another idea had been developing as to the government of the Moslem people. Many had come to believe that the method by democratic election was false; that the people had not the right to appoint, but that Allah himself was the appointer; further, that he had appointed the family of Ali and Fatima (*Fāṭima*), the daughter of Mohammed, to rule the people in virtue of blood-relationship. Sometimes stress was laid on descent from the prophet, some-

times on a right belonging to Ali, which in the end tended to see in his descendants an element of divinity. Thus a legitimist party, called the Shiah or "sect" (*Shī'a*), came into being in Islam as opposed to the democratic Sunnites. The Abbasid dynasty followed the Omayyads and the legitimists split into different branches. "All Persia believes that the twelfth in descent from Ali was removed by Allah from the sight of men and is now being preserved alive in retirement until his time to reappear shall come. This withdrawal happened about A.D. 874, and still for Persians, after more than a thousand years, he is 'the awaited one' (*Al-Muntazar*), and the real head of their government. For them the Shah is only a *locum tenens* to keep public order and no successor of the prophet. This 'invisible *imam*' is believed also to control the destinies of his people by mysterious channels."¹ The learned theologians of Kerbela and Nejef, called *mujtahids* by Shiites, are regarded as his agents in this control, claiming to represent him. "Another legitimist party in Islam limits the right to the Khalifate to the descendants of the prophet, who are called 'nobles' (*sharīf*). This party differs from the one above in that it is mostly Sunnite in theology and law, and while some sections of it ascribe hereditary saintship to the prophetic line with a power of working miracles there is no taint among them of incarnation doctrines. Their attitude is a development of the general Moslem respect for the family of Mohammed."² This party is represented by the Zaidites in Yemen and by the present reigning house in Morocco. At Mecca there are two families of "nobles," a representative of one of which has just been proclaimed ruler of the Hejaz.³ A final group of claimants of independent sovereignty may be described as Puritan and non-conformist. They are

¹ Macdonald, article on The Caliphate in *The Nation*, July 13, 1916, p. 33, reprinted in *The Moslem World* for October, 1917.

² Id. ib. p. 34.

³ Arabic *Hijāz*, the province in which Mecca is situated.

descendants of seceders from the general body of Islam, because of its decadence from democratic simplicity and theological rigidity. In consequence they are to a great extent regarded as outside of the people of Islam, and their ideal in government is the primitive tribe in the desert with a chief who can exercise only influence over a democracy of individuals. Of these are the Ibadites of Oman at the entrance of the Persian Gulf and at Zanzibar, and another group in the mountains of southern Algeria. The Wahhabites and other reforming parties in Islam will be treated later.¹

IV. THE DOCTRINAL CONTENT OF ISLAM

Every worker among Moslems should have a clear conception of the religious appeal which Islam makes to the Moslem mind as opposed to the reaction to it of the Christian mind. What seems absurd to the latter may not be so at all to the former. Furthermore, in studying the Moslem theological system it is necessary to keep strictly within its limits and not to draw all the logical implications which seem natural. No system ever devised could stand such treatment. In every Moslem country, moreover, a distinction has to be made between the book-Islam of the theologians and the Islam of the masses. Book-Islam is the same throughout the Moslem world; the Islam of the masses varies in every country, because it is a combination of the previous beliefs of the people with the new religion which they have adopted. Among the religious beliefs which hold a prominent place in the Mohammedan mind are the following:

(1) *Allah*.—By far the most important theme in Moslem theology is the doctrine of the person of God. The question most carefully discussed is the relationship of his essence

¹ See article "The Arabian Situation" in *The Nation* for November 8, 1917.

to his qualities, such as power, will, knowledge, etc., and it cannot be overemphasized for the missionary that he must go to the labor of thoroughly learning the list of qualities of Allah as given in Moslem textbooks with the different classifications of these qualities. Only in this way can he realize the extreme subtlety of the subject and its importance for the Moslem mind. The ultimate position of orthodox Islam is summed up in the words, "They are not he nor are they other than he," that is, the relationship is a theological mystery. Of these qualities the most important theologically is his will. Islam makes every effort to avoid any limitation of the will of Allah. It regards will as the sum of personality and even shrinks in the case of Allah from ascribing to him reason, because that would imply something prior to will.¹ This, of course, holds true only in technical systematic theology. The Allah of religion is pictured in quite anthropomorphic terms. For the Allah of theology is worked out by logic on the basis of absolute unity, while the Allah of religion is worked out through the experiences of the religious mind. The Christian can converse sympathetically about God with a religiously minded Moslem so long as they are dealing with their own religious experiences; but let the Christian introduce anything which suggests Christianity as opposed to Islam and the Moslem will at once abandon the God of his religious experience and take refuge in the impregnable system of the logical theologians. Another very important quality of Allah is speech (*kalām*). It is said to have existed from all eternity in his essence and that by means of it Allah has created all things. The Koran is an earthly manifestation of this eternal quality and is, therefore, to be regarded as eternal and uncreated.²

¹ This is only one of the points which come under the doctrine of the difference (*mukhālaḥa*) between Allah and all created beings. See p. 58.

² See the article, "Allah," by Professor Macdonald in the "Encyclopedia of Islam." It has a full bibliography.

(2) *Created Beings*.—All beings fall into two classes, Allah and his creatures. Allah has created by his will and power everything that exists besides himself. He alone possesses absolute existence; all created beings have only a dependent, relative existence. Intelligent created beings fall into three classes: the angels, the *jinn* and mankind. Angels are spirits who live in the very presence of Allah and execute his commands; *jinn* are spirits in general, good or evil.¹ All created beings are described by Islam as the slaves (*'ibād*) or, as we might put it, the creatures of Allah. He is the Lord (*rabb*) that is, their owner. Islam is uncertain whether to classify Iblis² and the devils generally as fallen angels or as malignant and unbelieving *jinn*.

(3) *The Nature of Mankind*.—Man, according to the Koran, was created of clay and, therefore, by his created nature is unclean and sinful. Allah placed him, when created, in a Garden, but, on the temptation of Iblis he disobeyed Allah and was driven out. This is the Moslem idea of the fall; it was not a change of nature, but an expulsion from a happy life and a change of a mode of existence. Iblis and Allah since then have been in conflict to gain men to themselves, and will so be until the day of Judgment. Iblis acts upon man's sinful nature, while Allah tries to instruct man in the way of salvation.

(4) *Salvation*.—Allah, therefore, from the beginning has sent a series of messengers or prophets to mankind, instructing them in all things of which they have need, both of the world and of religion, forbidding them and commanding them. This is his guidance (*hudā*) of mankind. Salvation for man consists in his repentance and complete submission to Allah, which involves acceptance of the laws of Islam as binding upon him. For that he must have belief (*īmān*) in his heart and a confession (*iqrār*) of that

¹ See the article, "Demons and Spirits" (Muslim), "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," vol. iv, pp. 615-619. See also vol. i, p. 669 f.

² *Iblis* is the Mohammedan equivalent of Satan.

belief upon his tongue and must follow these up with good works (*'amal*). He is then a believer and will not enter the Fire except, perhaps, as a kind of purgatory. If he dies a believer, but with a great sin unrepented, Allah may make him pass a certain time in the Fire as atonement for this sin, or may freely forgive. The Fire, therefore, is purgatory for those who have admitted their obligation to obey Allah; in the Fire their infractions of this admitted Law are purged away. But the Fire is hell for all unbelievers who have not so accepted the obligation of the law of Islam and in it they will abide eternally.¹ Conversion takes place among Moslems as among Christians, but very frequently it is based upon what has been called other-worldliness. The fear of the Fire played an important part in Mohammed's own religious experience, and has played a great part in that of the most spiritual Moslems since his day.

(5) *The Messengers of Salvation*.—Prophets (*nabī*) are the messengers (*rasūl*) of Allah to men. He confirms their authority by means of evidential miracles (*mu'jizāt*), and often their message takes the form of an inspired book, a sacred Scripture. The first of the prophets was Adam and the last is Mohammed. After Mohammed there will come no prophet. In the Koran a certain number of prophets is mentioned and stories are told about them. These stories are taken mostly from the Old and the New Testaments, but there are others besides, some unidentified. All prophets have taught the same theology, which is that of Islam, but the ritual law of each has varied, and each has a special standing and name. Thus Abraham is called the friend (*khalīl*) of Allah; Moses is the one who spoke (*kalīm*) with Allah; and Jesus is the spirit (*rūḥ*) of Allah. For the peculiar position of Jesus in Islam see below.

¹ For instance, one who neglects the observance of the fast at Ramaḍān (p. 48) will be temporarily punished in hell, Moslem casuists declare; he who denies the necessity of keeping it is an unbeliever and will incur eternal punishment.

(6) *The Sacred Books*.—There is mention in the Koran of a large number of sacred books which have been sent down from heaven. Abraham had certain “leaves” (*ṣuḥuf*) revealed to him; Moses had the Law (*taurat*); David had the Psalms (*zabūr*) and Jesus had the Gospel (*injīl*). Finally the Koran (*Qur’ān*) was revealed through Mohammed. It is eternal, unchangeable and incorruptible. The supreme authority and value of the Koran are unquestioned. It is, however, often quite unintelligible, even to a Moslem, without explanation. It contains very varied material, often jumbled together. Each section is called a sura.¹ Moslems know each one by its title, such as the Cow or the Pen, borrowed from some word or phrase in the section.

Moslems vary in their positions regarding the sacred books of the Jews and the Christians. Some teach that the present existing books are absolute forgeries and that Allah has taken away the originals. Others admit that they are the originals, but have been defaced by fatal omissions, especially of prophecies regarding Mohammed. Still others state that while they are the originals, they have had actual changes made in them, and that, therefore, they cannot be regarded as trustworthy. The position of Mohammed himself seems to have been that the Jews possessed the original Law unchanged, but expounded it falsely.

(7) *Jesus and the Mahdi*.—The statements about Jesus in the Koran give him a unique nature and position among the prophets of Islam. It is difficult to see why he was sent with that unique nature, and it is hard to escape the conclusion that Mohammed delivered up to a certain point what he had been taught and knew about Jesus, but omitted the reasons for his coming. We are led to the very border of a *logos* doctrine, but that doctrine is not stated. Jesus, as described in the Koran, is a semi-angelic being, created

¹ Arabic *sūra*, a word of uncertain derivation and meaning.

immediately in the womb of Mary by the direct action of Allah. He is thus called also a "word" (*kalima*) from Allah, because he is the result of the creative word "be" (*kun*). He and his mother are spoken of as a "sign" and a "mercy" to mankind. He did not die, but was taken up by Allah into one of the heavens, where he still remains in the body in which he was born, and whence he will come before the last day to bring in the triumph of the true religion and of peace in the earth. It will be well for the missionary, then, to bring out clearly the unexplained elements in the figure of Jesus.¹ There are two other points of contact for the Christian doctrine of the person of Christ: (a) There has grown up among Moslems a doctrine of the person of Mohammed which is almost exactly the Arian doctrine of Christ. It represents Mohammed as the first of all created beings, created before the worlds, and that for his sake the worlds were created. (b) The relationship of the quality of Allah called "speech" to the Koran is almost exactly that of the divine *logos* in the New Testament to its earthly manifestation in Jesus. Speech is the quality of Allah existing from all eternity in his essence; it is not of the nature of letters or sounds. By that speech he created the worlds. The Koran is an earthly manifestation of that quality of speech, even though it is written, spoken, heard and remembered; and because of this relationship the Koran is called "the speech of Allah," and is to be regarded as uncreated and eternal. There early grew up in Islam a belief that before the last day there would be a final, great conflict of good and evil. Then will appear an antichrist and then against him a great protagonist of Islam, who will finally overcome him, slay him and reduce the whole world to the true faith, Islam. This is the doctrine of the "guided One" (*mahdī*), whom Allah will send.

¹ C. H. A. Field in the *Moslem World*, i, 68 pp., brings together passages in Mohammedan writers which refer to Jesus and which emphasize elements in his teaching on which the Koran is silent.

He will not be an independent prophet, but a Moslem, following the law of Islam. Confusion has entered as to whether he will be the same as Jesus, whose return to earth before the last day is also promised. When Jesus returns, he also will come as a Moslem and no longer as a prophet in his own right. This subject, about which the systematic theologians say very little, is a favorite one with writers for devotion and edification.

(8) *The Day of Judgment*.—The consideration of the day of judgment plays an important part for religious edification in the Moslem mind. Islam, like a large section of the Christian Church, teaches that there are two judgments, the lesser at the death of the individual, the greater at the resurrection. The lesser judgment takes place after burial in the grave of the individual through two angels, Munkar and Nakīr, who interrogate the deceased as to his faith and conduct. The grave in which he continues to exist in a sentient state becomes for him thereafter a foretaste of the Garden or of the Fire, hence the Moslem regards the grave as inviolate. This will continue until the greater judgment on the general Judgment Day.

From the Koran and from traditions many picturesque details are derived regarding the events of that Day. All living beings, men and beasts, will be raised from their dust and will stand in the presence of Allah. The beasts will be there, in order that they may bear witness against the men who have used them cruelly. Thereafter they will return to dust, except a few who, because of association with prophets, will enter paradise. Mankind will be kept standing before Allah, until in utter weariness they will appeal to the prophets to intercede with Allah that this standing (*mawqif*) may cease. Eventually Mohammed will intercede and the business of the Day will then proceed. Actions, good and bad, will be weighed against one another in a balance. The books in which human deeds

have been entered will be opened. Allah may exact the uttermost penalty or may freely forgive. For the relative value of faith and works on that Day, see below. When believers have all been gathered into the Garden and unbelievers into the Fire, they will abide there forever. It should be said, however, that while Islam undoubtedly pictures to itself the Garden and the Fire in sensuous and also in sensual terms, it declares that the highest beatitude attainable by the believer will be the vision of the face of Allah.

V. THE RELIGIOUS PRACTICES OF ISLAM

The four sources referred to on page 27 are the foundations of both systematic theology and canon law. Theology deals with what man must believe; canon law with what man must do. But the scope of canon law in Islam is much wider than that of any legal system with us. It covers private as well as public conduct, and it does not classify actions simply as commanded and prohibited, but into those which are commanded, recommended, indifferent, disliked and forbidden. It is for the individual Moslem, when in doubt, to apply to a canonist, who will then give him a legal opinion (*fetwa*). The canonist is then the *muftī*. In the same way the judge, or *cadi* (*qāḍī*), before whom a case comes in court, should apply to a mufti for a legal opinion on it. Any person of learning can give a legal opinion, but its value will depend on his reputation. Salaried muftis are often attached by the government to law courts.

The religious practices of Islam are called *'ibādāt*. That means that they are regarded as the actions of a slave (*'abd*) towards his owner, Allah, who in this connection is called his Lord (*rabb*). They are called also his works

(*'amal*), and will form a part of his reckoning at the Last Day. These practices are all individual duties (*fard 'ain*) incumbent upon every Moslem personally, and are:

(1) *Faith (īmān) and Its Public Confession (iqrār)*.—This public confession consists of what are called the two words of witnessing (*kalimatā-sh-shahāda*): "I bear witness that there is no god except Allah and that Mohammed is the messenger of Allah." The first of those meant to the Meccans, to whom it was originally delivered, that of the members of their pantheon the one whom they called Allah was the only real God. For later Islam it has become the foundation of practically all their theology and is considered as stating the absolute unity, both external and internal, of Allah. The external unity is the non-existence of any other being like Allah, and the internal that he in himself is a unity. From this the whole doctrine of the person of Allah is developed and it forms nine-tenths of the theology of Islam. The second word of witnessing means that Mohammed was and is the messenger of Allah to mankind, bearing the message which is Islam. The utterer of these words becomes a Muslim, and it is a pious act to repeat them frequently. "On every occasion this creed is repeated by the believer. It is the key to every door of difficulty. It is the watchword of Islam. These words Mohammedans inscribe on their banners and on their doorposts. They appear on all the early coins of the caliphs. This creed of seven Arabic words rings out in every Moslem village from the Philippines to Morocco. One hears it in the bazaar and the street and the mosque; it is a battle-cry and a cradle-song, an exclamation of delight and a funeral dirge. There is no doubt that this continual, public repetition of a creed has been a source of strength to Islam for ages, as well as a stimulus to fanaticism."¹

(2) *Worship*.—It is the duty of every Moslem to pre-

¹ Zwemer, "Islam," p. 102.

sent himself in worship before Allah five times in the twenty-four hours. The act is closely analogous to the paying of respects on the part of an inferior to a superior. Each act of worship (*ṣalāt*) consists of certain bowings and prostrations combined in a fixed order with the repetition of certain phrases of worship and reverence. The details of this worship are very closely prescribed and the following of it is regarded as a kind of regimen or medicine for the soul. Theologians have abandoned the attempt to explain why the details should be so and not otherwise, and explain them as being analogous to the prescription of a physician, which the patient should follow, even though he does not know how it works. After each act of worship and also at any time besides, the Moslem may offer up specific prayer in the sense of petition (*du'ā*) to Allah. In such ways he presents his needs and desires before his Lord. There are, besides, many other forms of devotional utterance in use among Moslems—ejaculatory prayers, pious formulæ, statements of faith and submission, which are used by the religious-minded all the time. Dervishes especially, both full members and lay members (tertiaries), have a certain "office," or liturgical service, which they are supposed to say daily, and they have also a weekly service in which they are expected to take part in common with their brethren at the monastery of their fraternity. But of all these, only the *ṣalāt* is absolutely prescribed. To omit it is sin; to perform it goes into the reckoning of good works. It must be preceded by certain acts of purification (*wuḍū'* and *ghusl*), varying according to circumstances, and by a statement of intention (*nīya*), and must be directed toward the Kaaba (Ka'ba) at Mecca, called in this connection the *qibla*. The act of worship toward the *qibla* is regarded as the distinction between the Moslem and the non-Moslem. And this has even reached the formulation that any one who worships toward that *qibla* must be ac-

cepted as a Moslem and not further questioned as to his faith. The spirituality involved and expressed in the forms of the *ṣalāt* will, of course, depend on the state of mind and heart of the worshipper. It is possible to go through it as a purely mechanical exercise, and Islam would ascribe merit to such performance of this duty. It is also possible, and without doubt often occurs, that the performance of this duty has spiritual meaning and value as a real intercourse between the soul and God.

(3) *Fasting* (*ṣawm* or *ṣiyām*).—During the month of Ramaḍān, which may fall at any time in the solar year, since the Moslem year is lunar, the believer must fast, in the most complete sense, going without food or drink from dawn to sunset, every day, unless he is hindered by his situation, e.g., being on a journey or at war, or suffering from bodily infirmities. Such omitted fasting must be made up, according to certain rules, at other times. It may be fair to add that feasting is equally permitted from each sunset to dawn.

(4) *Tithing and Almsgiving*.—Two words are used in the Koran for the giving of alms, *zakāt* and *ṣadaqa*. The canon law of Islam has distinguished between them. *Zakāt* has become a formal tithe imposed upon certain possessions in certain fixed proportions and devoted to certain prescribed purposes. These purposes are all exactly laid down by the different schools of canon law. Few Moslem states, however, except perhaps the Wahhabis in Arabia, insist upon the payment of the tithe. *Ṣadaqa*, on the other hand, has come to mean benevolences, and is applied to almsgiving, both on certain occasions and in general, varying with the will of the giver. The example and precept of Mohammed have made the giving of alms assume an important place in a Moslem's religious life. It is supposed to have atoning value for evil deeds. Organized charities and endowments have also from time to time been common in

Islam, funds having been left in mortmain (*waqf*) for the purpose.

(5) *Pilgrimage*.—As a religious practice, the pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Mecca is regarded by Moslems as entitling the pilgrim to the highest consideration here on earth and the greatest favor in the life to come. Moreover, as a practical bond of union between Mohammedans of all races and as an expression of the solidarity of Islam, this pilgrimage undoubtedly has the greatest possible value. To gain a clear picture of the experience involved in a pilgrimage to Mecca, one must read such an account of the actual journey as Burckhardt, Burton and others have written. The kissing of the Black Stone which is so much revered, and which is set in the wall of the Kaaba at Mecca, and several other elements of the pilgrimage ritual are undoubtedly relics of the days which preceded the rise of Islam. In case of need the pilgrimage may be performed by a substitute whose expenses will be covered by the party desiring to gain such merit. To be a *hajjī* one must not only make the journey to Mecca, but must also do it at the right time in the month of pilgrimage (*Dhū-l-ḥijja*), and especially must be present at the solemn sermon on Arafat.

(6) *Jihād*.—The above practices are individual duties required of all Moslems. Jihad, or fighting for the spread of Islam, is called technically a “duty of sufficiency” (*farḍ kifāya*), i.e., when it is performed by a number of Moslems sufficient for the purpose the obligation falls away from the rest. It is, of course, conceivable that it might become an individual duty (*farḍ ‘ain*), which would mean that the whole Moslem world has been drawn into the conflict. It is of the essential theory of Islam that Moslem and non-Moslem states must be at war, until the whole world is subdued to Islam. The fixed status of a non-Moslem state is therefore that of an enemy. It is allowable for the people of Islam to form temporary treaty relations,

but these can only be temporary, and in the early days of Islam it was considered the duty of the head of the Moslem state to lead an expedition at least once a year against his non-Moslem neighbors. This gradually became atrophied into the annual equipping of such an expedition. It will, therefore, be seen that jihad is, in strict canon law, the natural relationship between Moslems and non-Moslems, and with this agrees undoubtedly the deep feeling of the Moslem masses. Every war, then, by a Moslem against a non-Moslem power is ipso facto a jihad, and needs no proclamation to make it so. The proclamation in 1914 of a jihad by Turkey was really a statement by the sultan-caliph of the Ottoman Turks that he stood in dire need, and a summons of all Moslems to his standard. The duty of sufficiency had become an individual duty, he declared. Its lack of success shows the growing weakness of the purely religious appeal in Islam, and that the principle of nationality is gaining strength.

VI. THE LEGAL AND THEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAM

(1) *The Development of Canon Law.*—In every Sunnite Moslem country except that of the Wahhabites there exist at the present time, and have existed almost since the beginning, two separate systems of law. The one is a system of canon law based on religious sanctions, and supposed to cover the whole life of an individual, private and public. It may be called a system of duties. The other is a secular system of law arising out of the necessities of the case, the pre-Islamic customs of the separate countries and the will of their rulers. It is law in our sense, which forbids under penalty of punishment. In the beginning Mohammed had acted as judge in his community. His immediate successors tried to follow the same system and to judge as he had

done, but they could not fall back upon divine guidance. They had, therefore, to systematize the record of his decisions and to construct by that means a body of law. They took as a basis for this the laws contained in the Koran and in the prophet's own recorded decisions. The resultant body of law was strictly a system of canon law, for it covered all the sides and aspects of life, developing in minute detail what a Moslem should do, think, and say in all situations. Further, it analyzed all actions under five categories: the absolutely forbidden (*ḥarām*), the absolutely required (*fard*, *wājib*), the merely disliked (*makrūh*), the merely preferred (*mandūb*, *mustaḥabb*) and the indifferent (*jā'iz*, *mubāḥ*).¹ In the development of this system it was to be expected that different schools would arise, for different canonists would naturally incline to lay stress on different basal ideas and to follow different methods. The result has been four schools of canon law: the Hanafites (*al-ḥanafīya*), the Malikites (*al-mālikīya*), the Shafites (*ash-shāfi'īya*) and the Hanbalites (*al-ḥanbalīya*), after the names of their founders and in the order mentioned. Abū Ḥanīfa, the founder of the first, died in A.H. 150 (767 A.D.). The characteristics of his system are that he admitted comparatively few traditions and preferred to build up by the aid of analogy and reason what may be called a speculative system of law. In consequence the Ḥanafite code has the reputation of being more liberal than the others and of adjusting itself better to individual and local requirements. Central Asia, northern India and the Turks everywhere are Hanafites. The founder of the second school was Malik ibn Anas, who died A.H. 179 (795 A.D.). He was a working jurist, resident at the city of the prophet (*al-Madīna*), and therefore in immediate touch with the local traditions of the prophetic decisions. But he also had behind him the customary law of Medina, and he felt him-

¹ Slight differences as to this classification have arisen between the different schools.

self free to use it just as the prophet himself had done. Further, from his position as a judge sitting more or less in the seat of the prophet himself, he did not feel himself bound to follow the exact letter of the law as it had reached him, but also made free use of analogy, though hardly in so speculative a way as had Abu Hanifa, who was not in touch with actual judicial situations, but was simply building up a hypothetical system. The Malikite school is largely followed through northern Africa. The founder of the third school was *ash-Shāfi'ī*, who died A.H. 207 (A.D. 819). It is to him that Islam owes the clear fixing and defining of the four sources already mentioned on page 27: Koran, tradition or usage of the prophet (*sunna*, expressed in traditions *aḥādith*), analogy (*qiyās*), and agreement (*ijmā'*), and he especially worked out and gave its importance to the principle of the agreement of the Moslem people. As distinguished from Abu Hanifa he gave great weight to traditions and as distinguished from Malik ibn Anas he defined and classified the province of reason. Lower Egypt, Syria, southern India and the Malay Archipelago are mostly Shafite. The fourth school, the Hanbalite, bears the name of Ahmad ibn Hanbal, who died A.H. 241 (855 A.D.). He lived and died as a Shafite with no thought of founding a rival school, but his followers saw his position more clearly than he himself had done, and the fourth, a purely traditional school, came into existence. It minimizes reason and endeavors to find a basis in Koran or tradition for every decision. There have been also other attempts at schools. Thus there was one which existed for a time called the Zahirite. The word means "literalist," and the characteristic of the school was an insistence upon taking the words of the Koran and of traditions in their absolutely literal sense, rejecting any consideration of circumstances or analogy. This school had long consequences and the principle which it advocated kept reappearing in the devel-

opment of Moslem thought, but it never held acknowledged rank beside the other four. At the present time the Hanbalites are to be found practically only among the Wahabites in Arabia. The four schools, however, are all equally orthodox, and their divergencies are regarded as a merciful provision of Allah to meet human weakness. But while a Moslem has a right to follow the ruling of any school without fear of being accused of heresy, yet he usually adheres consistently to one only, the choice of which is dictated by environment and geographical situation. Nevertheless, some eminent scholars have maintained an eclectic position.

These, then, are the ideal codes whose bases and sanctions are religious. Except for a short period, however, at the beginning of Islam, they have never absolutely ruled, and they were very largely the product of legal ingenuity working under unusual conditions, and were developed apart from contact with the facts of life and with the law courts. Inasmuch as the actual facts of life and the desires and will of rulers clashed violently with such ecclesiastical systems, these codes came soon to apply only to personal matters and to family law, having regard to marriage, divorce or inheritance. All other judicial questions came to be decided on other bases. In consequence, every Moslem country has two sets of law codes, the religious and the secular. The canon lawyers have always regarded this situation as the outcome of flat usurpation by the government, and the pious have always agreed with them. But the governments, unless moved by fear of popular insurrection, have gone their own way, and Islam now can only look to the reign of the Mahdi, and does so look, for the reintroduction to full validity of its system of canon law. In Turkey, it may be added, the system of secular law is based on the Code Napoléon, and is called the *Qawānīn*, while the canon law is the *sharī'a*, or *shar'*.

(2) *The Theological Development of Islam*.—Three principal factors have helped to develop and to organize Moslem religious thinking: tradition (*naql*), reason (*'aql*), and the inner vision of the mystic (*kashf, ilhām*). Tradition means the Koran, the book of Allah, and the records of Mohammed's sayings and doings. Reason manifested itself at first as the frank personal opinion (*ra'y*) of those close to Mohammed regarding his probable teachings. It narrowed down thereafter in law into analogy (*qiyās*), and still later, with the spread of philosophical thought, it utilized the speculative reason (*'aql, naẓar*), understood in the broadest sense. The open vision of the mystic has always existed in Islam. Mohammed himself was a mystic and for him the prophetic power was only a development and a giving of official status, as a message from Allah to mankind, to a power common to the human soul. But, while all these three were essentially present in Islam from the beginning, the formal statement of each in the development of Moslem thought was reached separately and later. Thus the first Moslems took the Koran and tradition and questioned them little. They were too much busied with the spread of the empire and of their faith to become self-conscious and to examine into the exact character of that faith. But the time soon came when questions arose and reason was brought into play with results that may be broadly classified as follows:

(a) *Free Will and Predestination*.—The statements in the Koran regarding this paradox of the ages are quite contradictory. Mohammed himself was an opportunist preacher. In consequence radically different positions can be based upon statements in the Koran. Sects arose in Islam, some strongly declaring the unlimited will and power of Allah, others asserting his justice and the freedom of man. Still others interpreted the paradox psychologically rather than ethically. Allah, they agreed, could do what he

pleased for his creatures, but how did man come to feel that he was free? The final outcome were four sects, two orthodox and two heretical. One was an extreme predestinarian sect, called the Jabrites, which taught that Allah absolutely constrained (*jabr*) man in his actions, i.e., that man is really an automaton. Another sect, equally extreme, called the Qadarites, taught that man possesses power (*qudra*) over his own actions, even going so far as to say that he creates his actions. A third more generally recognized sect, the Asharites (*al-ash'ariya*), taught that Allah created the action and the will to perform the action, and also a certain "accepting" (*iktisāb*) of the action on the part of every man; while a fourth orthodox sect, the Maturidites (*al-māturidīya*), accepted the facts of experience at their face value, stating that while Allah is the creator of all actions, yet man possesses the exercise of free will for which he is rightfully rewarded and punished.

The teaching of the Jabrites may be characterized as a crude attempt to uphold the absoluteness of Allah's will and power; the Qadarites endeavored to give due weight to the ethical aspect of God's actions and to the facts of man's consciousness; the Asharites seemed to attempt to explain the origin of man's belief that he is free, while Allah, as a matter of fact, is the creator of everything; and the Maturidites made a common sense acceptance of the facts of consciousness, merely stating the inevitable contradiction and leaving it there. The Qadarites eventually developed into the Mu'tazilites, who were the rationalists of Islam, and came to be the heirs of all the heresies that Islam produced.

(b) *Allah and His Qualities*.—The problem of the person of God¹ arose very early in the religious thinking of Islam, and, probably under the influence of theologians of the Greek church, was handled in scholastic fashion. Allah,

¹ See this same problem from a different point of view on pp. 38, 39.

it was agreed, possesses an essence (*dhāt*) and qualities (*ṣifāt*). The essence is unchanging. The qualities are such as knowledge, power, will, sight, hearing, speech, etc., and were determined in the first instance by the descriptives applied to Allah in the Koran. They were thus, for the mind of Mohammed, anthropomorphic, but in the development of Islam they lost this descriptive value in proportion as the doctrine of Allah's "difference" (*mukhālafa*) developed. "Difference" means that no parallelism or likeness can exist at any point between Allah and His creatures. A full appreciation of this by the missionary is essential, since it prejudices the Moslem against the acceptance of any doctrine which tends to bring God and man together, such as that of the fatherhood of God. The speculative puzzle concerned the relation of these qualities to the essence. Were they the essence of Allah, then that essence must be a compound and not a unit. Were they something else than the essence of Allah, then they must be attached externally to that essence and be separable in thought from it, that is, there would be a multiplicity of Allahs instead of one. This sort of reasoning developed an enormously multiplied Trinitarian type of controversy. Heterodox Islam tended to solve the problem raised by reducing Allah to a vague, indescribable, indeterminable unity. Orthodox Islam invented the formula, "They are not He, nor are they other than He," i.e., the person of Allah is a theological mystery.

The various qualities ascribed to Allah in Mohammedan theology were suggested in the first instance by Koranic texts, but historically the tendency has developed to prove their existence on a basis of pure reason, starting with the fundamental premise of the need of the world for a creator, and then working out what that creator must necessarily be. Moslems always draw a very clear line between what can be and must be reached by reason, and what man can only learn through revelation. Naturally, different schools

have reached different conclusions as to the amount of theological truth which Allah could require man to attain by his unaided reason.

(c) *The Doctrine of the Koran*.—There arose very early in Islam a confusion regarding the meaning of the expression "the word of Allah" (*kalām Allah*). Speech was one of the eternal qualities posited as belonging to Allah, for in the Koran he is represented as speaking; but the Koran, too, was called the Word of Allah. Did that mean that the Koran itself was eternal and uncreated? The early discussions of this question were quite certainly affected by the Christian doctrine of the uncreated Word (*logos*). The Koran was declared to be the visible expression and embodiment of the eternal Word, just as Jesus was declared to be the earthly manifestation of the *logos*. However the idea developed, orthodox Islam soon came to teach definitely that the Koran in essence was uncreated, whatever was to be said of its written, spoken, remembered or heard forms. Some early enthusiasts for the idea even asserted that these forms were uncreated, but orthodox Islam has passed from a dislike to discuss the question to a recognition of a difference between the essential Koran and its visible embodiment. While, then, orthodox Islam firmly holds to the eternity of the Koran, a Moslem is allowed to explain it in more than one form.

(d) *Anthropomorphisms*.—The Koran, like the Old Testament, is full of anthropomorphisms. Mohammed thought in concrete terms and his descriptions of Allah have in consequence given great trouble to the Moslem scholastics. Many felt compelled to take them literally and to assert that these held of Allah in just the same way as they would hold of man. So one theologian, when he came to one of the seven passages in the Koran which describe how Allah settled himself on his throne, would arise from his seat, sit down again and say, "He did it just as I am doing it now."

Such theologians were of the Zahirite school, already mentioned under canon law (page 52). Others tried to find lexicographical methods of escape. The word "hand" in Arabic also means "strength." They claimed that the prophet had the abstract rather than the concrete meaning in mind. But gradually there grew up the doctrine of Allah's "difference" (*mukhālafa*) referred to above. This, when pushed to the extreme, of course means that Allah is unknowable to man, and there is a tendency among theologians to state it in such a form. But more moderately used it merely guards against thinking of Allah in human terms. At an early date this conclusion was voiced in the dictum that we must believe those Koranic descriptions of Allah "without inquiring how and without making comparisons" (*bilā kayfa walā tashbīh*).

(e) *The Vision of Allah*.—It is taught in traditions that the highest felicity for the believer in Paradise will be seeing the face of Allah. The scholastic objection was early raised that this could only mean that Allah exists in space. Orthodox Islam today asserts the truth of the vision, but states that it will not be in terms of our human seeing—a matter of space and direction and rays of light.

For a long time after Mohammed's day orthodox, traditional believers contented themselves with simply affirming the essentials of the true faith, ignoring all these heresies, and refusing to permit reason to have anything to do with their religious thinking. Such an attitude could not continue, and the year 300 A.H. (912-13 A.D.) saw what is called the return of *al-Ash'arī* from the Mutazilite or rationalistic party to the orthodox fold. He brought back with him the Mutazilite principles and methods of discussion, so that, under his leadership, they were henceforth used in the building up of a scholastic orthodox religious system. Of course, many theologians, Hanbalites and Zahirites, for the most part, continued to protest against

this imitation of unbelievers, but the process went on until religion had been thoroughly organized into theology. The natural consequences followed. The religious life decayed; unbelief of many kinds appeared and antinomian attitudes became prevalent. Law and theology were secularized. It seemed to many that the faith of Mohammed was gradually dying out and that in its place arid scholastic systems were growing up. It was then that the mystical tendency in human worship asserted itself and came to be accepted as a recognized element in Islam. It had always been in Islam, both in its ascetic and in its speculative forms. It had formed the real religious life of the Moslem peoples, though often persecuted as heresy or even as unbelief. But it had not yet found definite public recognition. Hence, just as it had been the work of al-Ash'arī to justify the use of the reasoning faculty in religion, so it became the work of al-Ghazzali (d. A.H. 505, A.D. 1111) to give validity and position to the vision of the mystic. In his own personal experience he had passed through a period of the most absolute skepticism. He could for a time find no basis for the traditional faith which he had been taught. He had even come to doubt the validity of the ordinary operations of his own mind. When, at length, he passed through a religious crisis which drove him away from his position as a professor of canon law to wander as a dervish, he then in his personal religious experiences found something which he could trust and was led back by these to traditional Islam. After his day the accepted statement concerning the relationship of the three factors—tradition, reason and the inner light—to the support of religion among thinking men in Islam came to be substantially as follows: only through that individual enlightenment and teaching which God gives to the human soul can a man come to learn that the Islam taught by his fathers is really true. The inner light thus vouches for tradition. The principal

use, then, for reason is as a weapon of defense against the unbeliever. It can destroy; it cannot construct. To the end al-Ghazzali was intellectually a skeptic. Though he constructed and stated intellectualist proofs of theological dogmas, he did not regard them as valid. This attitude is today that of the religiously-minded; with it should be contrasted the scholastic, theological attitude given above which seeks to prove the doctrine of the person of God by reason.

VII. OTHER RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS IN ISLAM

(1) *The Shiites*.—The above gives the development of religion and theology in Sunnite Islam—the main stem. The Shiites were in the first instance a political sect. The reason for their existence is the claim of the descendants of Ali and Fatima that they by blood and by the choice of Allah have a right to the headship of the Moslem State. But this of necessity led to theological developments. The belief grew up that in the house of Ali there inheres some particle of divinity and that this divine particle can be passed down from generation to generation.¹ Hence, the religious head (*imām*) of the Shiites could almost be worshipped, and was certainly an infallible source of doctrine when he was among men. After he had vanished the learned men (*mujtahid*) of the Shiites have become the exponents of his will. But very curiously Shiite theology is strongly Mutazilite. How this came about is still historically obscure, but there is no question of the fact. For the missionary, therefore, amongst Shiites in Persia, where most of them are to be found, or in India, a study of the

¹ See further details on p. 66.

Mutazilite development is necessary and a comparison of it with Shiite textbooks of theology and law. On this side very much remains to be done.¹

In canon law, also, the Shiites have separate systems and collections of traditions. The historicity of their traditions and, it may be said, of their whole attitude toward the beginnings of Islam, is under the gravest suspicion. They use the same text of the Koran as the Sunnites, but there are in circulation amongst them passages favoring the family of Ali which they assert to have been suppressed in the orthodox recension.

(2) *The Mystical Organization and Life*.—The beginnings of the development of mysticism in Islam have been indicated above in the description of the work of al-Ghazālī (page 59), but the whole subject is of such importance that it deserves distinct treatment. The mystic (*ṣūfī*) should not be regarded as belonging to a separate sect. He may be a Sunnite or a Shiite, and may even regard himself as outside of both. The feature which characterizes the mystic is that, whatever may be his theology, his religion consists in personal devout intercourse with God.² This communion he may combine with ascetic practices in order to "keep the veil of the body thin and the mirror of the soul clear," or he may follow a speculative pathway and combine with his emotional ecstasies a metaphysical searching into the nature of God and of the human soul and of the links between them. Historically, the most multifarious influences have worked upon the creed of the Moslem mystic. Among these influences, to show their singular variety, may be mentioned Neo-Platonism through the Christian mysticism of the pseudo-Dionysius, the so-called Areopagite, and also more directly Buddhism through Buddhist

¹ Goldziher is almost the only scholar who has done any work on Shiite theology, and this in scattered articles. His "Vorlesungen über den Islam" is the most accessible reference work. The article "Ali in Shiah Tradition," in the *Moslem World*, January, 1914, is full of value.

² See further on p. 72.

ascetics, and even Vedantism. It is entirely possible for the Moslem mystic to profess a theology ranging from a merely devout, prayerful attitude to God, like that of Thomas à Kempis, all the way to a perfectly conscious pantheism. Most of them really hold pantheistic principles, although they may not know this. The problem, for example, with regard to Al-Ghazzali is as to whether he knew that he was a pantheist or not.

These mystics have not formed a distinct sect, yet they tend to form organizations. From the beginning they formed circles of students, growing and dissolving around a teacher. These groups often continued after the death of the teacher who brought them into being, but not until after the time of Al-Ghazzali did there appear self-perpetuating and historically avouched fraternities¹ of dervishes, such as the Qadarites (*Qādirīya*), founded in 1165, the Shadhilites (*Shādhilīya*), founded in 1258, and the Mevlevites, founded before 1273. Each of these connects with an historical founder, but also, through a quite unhistorical chain (*silsila*) of teachers, professes to connect itself with the prophet and his companions. Each has its rule and method of life. The fraternities are controlled by a system of heads and teachers and require from their members certain ritual practices. A part of these is the *dhikr*² (or *zikr*), but they have also a more personal "office" which each must say. The object of each of these is the expression of personal devotion to God. In the *dhikr* this is expressed by a more or less complicated ritual, varying in the different fraternities, but consisting partly of physical movements and partly in the repetition in chorus of religious formulæ. In these the names of Allah often play a large part, and also the first article of the Moslem creed (see p. 46). These

¹ For a clear, readable account of these orders see "The Religious Orders of Islam," by the Rev. Canon Sell of Madras.

² See on these Lane's "Modern Egyptians," ch. xxiv, and by index, George Swan in *The Moslem World*, vol. ii, pp. 380 ff., or Macdonald, "Aspects," lectures v and vi.

tend to produce at the least a mild form of hypnosis, often developing into religious ecstasy and even catalepsy. The membership is composed of full members or of laymen, like the Franciscan tertiaries. They make a business of the religious life and are its vehicles. Their nearest analog are the separate congregations of the Christian Church with their religious activities. The *dhikr*, also, of dervish fraternities, plays the part in Islam that the prayer meeting plays with Protestants, and the fraternity house is a combination of church and club. Each fraternity has its own practices. Thus the Mevlevites are the dancing dervishes, while the other fraternities do not dance. Each country also tends to have its own fraternities. There is, e.g., only one Bektashite establishment in Egypt, although there are very many in Turkey. The different Moslem governments have always tried to keep a controlling hand on these organizations, if only from the outside. Such numerous and powerful bodies could not be left unchecked as an *imperium in imperio*. In consequence their chiefs are regularly kept in relation with the state. Thus the Sheik el Bakrī is the governmental head of all the dervish fraternities of Egypt (*shaikh shuyūkh at-ṭuruq*). The one exception to this adjustment is the Senusitē fraternity, founded in 1843 by Sheik al-Senūsī and numbering about six millions of members. It has always studied to keep, and has succeeded in keeping, itself from state entanglements. As an offshoot of the Wahhabite movement it is opposed by its very nature to secular governments. This attitude has caused it to seek shelter for its mother house and central organization in remote deserts, where it may be free from worldly control. It may be said in conclusion that it is most desirable that every missionary should make himself thoroughly acquainted with the dervish fraternities of his field and should put himself into connection with them. The dervishes in some fields, such

as Turkey, are commonly misunderstood and distrusted by the modern Moslems. Their reputation for laziness, largely justified, is greater than their reputation for piety. But the missionary should bear in mind that, in however corrupt a form, they are the vehicles of the religious life of Islam and among its chief missionary agencies.

But there is also, at least in the belief of the people, another organization. Among the dervishes there appear from time to time men of exceptional gifts, partly religious in character and partly what we would now call psychic. The technical term for these is *walī* (plural *awliyā*, in Turkish *evliyā*), and that name indicates that they are believed to be peculiarly near to Allah. They, as it were, live in His presence, even while going through their ordinary life among men. The masses of Islam firmly believe that these men are organized into a spiritual hierarchy in closest touch with Allah and enjoying miraculous powers, stretching down from a single head, called the Axis (*Qutb*), through gradually widening ranks until it embraces every true wali of Allah. Through this spiritual organization it is believed that Allah administers the affairs of the world. This is the nearest that Islam has come to the conception of a broad ecclesiastical organization like that of the Roman Church, and is evidently an effort of the popular imagination to offset the secularization of Islam in its different governments. The administration of Islam may have passed into the hands of the merely worldly, but the people in this way have built up in their imaginations an administration that remains spiritual and religious.

(3) *Wahhabism*.—Wahhabism is opposed to the mystical movement at almost every point, except that it also is an effort to purify the religion and to realize the ideal of Islam. It appeared in the middle of the eighteenth century as a reform movement, endeavoring to reproduce the situation and attitudes of the first generations. Its

ideal is the Islam of the Companions of Mohammed, and it seeks to do away with all later developments and changes, however they may have been accepted through the Agreement of the Moslem people. Its three bases are Koran and Sunna and the Agreement of the immediate Companions. But reform movements in Islam almost inevitably pass from preaching to fighting and this Wahhabite movement soon swept over Arabia sword in hand. Mecca and Medina were taken, and, at one time, a new war of conquest issuing from Arabia to flood the Moslem world seemed probable. But prompt action by Turkey through Egypt checked this aggressive movement; and now the only sovereign Wahhabite state left is that at Riyāḍ in Central Arabia. But the reforming impulse, although checked and turned in its militant form, spread rapidly by propaganda through the Moslem world, and was undoubtedly an element in the general toning up of Islam in the nineteenth century. As opposed to the dervish fraternities and to the mystical life in general this movement emphasized salvation by precision of orthodox belief and through the close observance of the customs of the Prophet and his Companions. Its ideal would be that the state should enforce the observance of all details of the canon law, as was done in the time of the first caliphs. The state at Riyāḍ is therefore now the only state which rejects the second, the secular, system of law mentioned above (p. 50). Wahhabism at one time took strong hold of many Indian Moslems, even to the extent of threatening revolt. Religiously it is still an influence there. The roots of the Senusite fraternity of dervishes also run back into Wahhabism, although as an organization it has long been entirely separate.

(4) *Babism and Baha'ism*.—The central idea of the Shi'ite faith is that authority to teach and to govern is vested in an individual appointed thereto by Allah, who is a descendant of the prophet through Ali and Fatima, and

in whom there is contained some element of divinity. He is called an *imām*, and inasmuch as the Persian division of the Shi'ites teaches that there have been twelve imams down to Mohammed ibn el Ḥasan, that division is called "the Twelvers" (*ithnā 'ashariya*). This imam vanished from the sight of men in A.H. 260 (A.D. 873-4) and since then the Persian Shi'ites, who believe that he is being kept alive by Allah in retirement, have looked for his return. For a number of years after his vanishing, i.e., up to A.H. 329 (A.D. 940-1), communication between him and his followers was supposedly maintained through four successive intermediaries who were each called *Bāb* (door). Thereafter it had ceased. But in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there appeared in a sect called the Sheikhīs the belief that there must always be amongst men a Bab in direct spiritual communication with the hidden Imam. In A.H. 1260 (A.D. 1844), just 1,000 lunar years after the vanishing, the position of Bab was claimed by Mirzā 'Alī Mohammed and the Bābī sect was founded.¹ It is naturally impossible here to trace out the history of this sect and of the splits which eventually brought forth from it the Baha'i sect, now by far the more numerous, and which itself, in the last few years, has split into the followers of 'Abbās Efendī and those of Mohammed 'Alī. In the course of its historical development Babism has passed from being Mohammedan and Shi'ite to being a new religion. From the very first its followers rejected the finality of the Koran and of the mission of Mohammed, but otherwise their thought was specifically Shi'ite. The Baha'is, on the other hand, while showing manifold influences from Islam, propound what is really a new theology

¹ The writings of Professor E. G. Browne of Cambridge and, particularly, his valuable article "Bab" in volume ii of Hastings' "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," should be consulted by the student. Compare also the review of Roemer's *Die Bābī-Behā'ī* in IRM, i, 546-551, and the Report of Com. IV of the Edinburgh Conference of 1910.

and a new attitude toward life.¹ Their God is unknowable, transcending human comprehension, as, in a way, also, does the Allah of the Moslem scholastics. But their prophet, regarded also as divine, is to be completely followed and worshiped, being an absolute Head and teacher. As opposed to Sufism (p. 73) Baha'ism is dogmatic, accepting the utterances of the Head without reserve. As opposed to modern rationalism its positions are based upon supernatural sanctions often descending to arguments from the numerical value of letters, like the discussion among some Christians of the number of the Beast (Rev. 13:18). These distinctions are important because of the spread of Babism and Baha'ism in America. It is asserted that there have been gained several thousand North American adherents, since the beginning of their propaganda at Chicago about 1892. Of the numbers of Babis and Baha'is in Persia itself there are the most contradictory estimates. Some good authorities think that it has passed the zenith of its propaganda.

(5) *The Ahmadiya*.—The Ahmadiya (*aḥmadiya*) sect appeared in Qadiyan in the Punjab about fifty miles from Lahore, thirty or forty years ago, and was founded by Mirzā Ghulām Ahmad,² who combined three claims in himself: to be the Mahdi of Islam, to be a reincarnation of Jesus, and to be the final avatar of the Hindus. As a Moslem he was in essential heresy, and his followers are now rejected as Moslems by orthodox Islam, but the divergence of the sect is not so great as that of the Baha'ites. He taught that Jesus did not die on the cross, but came to India, settled at Srinagar in Kashmir and died there, where they show his tomb; and declared, further, that the Mahdi of Islam and Jesus, who, according to orthodox

¹ See "Bahaism in Persia," by Frame. *The Moslem World*, ii, 236, ff.

² Rev. H. D. Griswold has published a pamphlet bearing the name of this leader which describes the movement. The most authoritative and satisfying account is in the book by Walter noted in the bibliography and in his articles in *The Moslem World*, vi, 66 ff. and in "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics."

Moslem belief, is to return to the earth before the judgment to introduce universal Islam, were united in his own person. That Jesus when he returns will also be the Mahdi has been held by many Moslems. The first public appearance of the Mirza was in 1880, but serious preaching of his cause did not come until after 1889. He professed to work miracles and to prophesy. His combination of Jesus with the Mahdi led to an essential change in his doctrine of the character of the latter. The Mahdi of orthodox Islam is a warrior who subdues the unbeliever with the sword, as also shall the returned Jesus of Islam, but the Ahmadiya movement has been throughout a peaceful one. It rejects *jihād* and condemns all fanaticism. Ghulām Aḥmad used as his theological basis both the Koran and the Christian Scriptures, but was eclectic and even skeptical in his use of traditions. He believed in education and in literary propaganda and, regarding himself as "sent" to the whole world, pushed that propaganda beyond Moslem countries, and especially into England through the monthly *Review of Religions*. His support in Indian Islam has been mostly found amongst those who had some Western education. Since his death tendencies towards division have appeared, and also towards rationalism. In England the sect poses as orthodox Islam, a position denied to it by all orthodox Moslems.

(6) *The Neo-Mu'tazilites*.—The Islam of India has naturally been more affected by Western education than that of any other Moslem country. Under that stimulus there has arisen a reformed Islam, the object of which is to make Islam a possible faith in the modern world. As advocates of a reformed and therefore a rationalized Islam its holders have fallen back quite a little on the Mu'tazilite sect of early rationalists and therefore, though all historical continuity is lacking, call themselves Mu'tazilites. Their theological attitudes also are very different from those of

the original Mu'tazilites. They are practically Unitarians who put Mohammed in the place of Christ, while the original Mu'tazilites, though applying reason to the doctrines of Islam, were in many respects more narrow, dogmatic and bigoted than the orthodox Moslems of their time. For example, they felt compelled on the basis of their *a priori* principles to teach that the prophets were all preserved by Allah from sin, a position that the modern Mu'tazilite would hardly maintain. The educational center of the movement is in the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in northern India, an institution whose influence is undoubtedly deep upon Moslem Indian life and thought, and is now spreading into other Moslem countries.

(7) *Other Developments.*—Finally, the supposed unity of Islam was menaced from the very beginning by the influences which it found awaiting it in the different countries to which it had spread. In that way, for example, the Islam of Sumatra has been deeply affected by Animism and therefore must be carefully differentiated from the Islam of, say, Egypt or Turkey. And, secondly, in the modern world, Islam is being affected by influences Christian, intellectual, educational, social and economic to a degree which threatens to break up entirely even what unity has been left to it.

VIII. THE EXISTING TYPES OF MOSLEMS AS A RESULT OF THESE INFLUENCES

In order to gain clearness and to avoid logical cross divisions, it may be well to study the Moslem world under three general groupings: (a) as affected by the forces at present acting upon Islam from without; (b) according to its inner attitude toward Islam; and (c) according to race and environment.

1. *As Affected by Forces from Without Islam.*

(a) *The Purists.*—There are very many Moslems who, when confronted by the modern world, instinctively desire to flee away from it, to avoid any contact with it that may contaminate the purity of their faith, and especially to avoid such entanglements as may hinder them in the careful observance of the ritual and other requirements of their faith. The most conspicuous example of this type of mind is the Sensusite fraternity of dervishes. It is shown by their steady retirement into less and less accessible recesses of the Sudan. This policy has been pursued, not only to avoid contact with Europe, but also to free themselves from the control of the supposedly contaminated Turkish Government. There are individuals to be found everywhere in Islam who show the same tendency to shrink away from what they deem to be dangerous influences.

(b) *The Conservatives.*—There are also those whose impulse is to face the enemies of Islam and to hold to the old ways. These are conservatives and also fighters, whether intellectually or with actual weapons. Among them are everywhere to be reckoned the 'Ulamā, who are the professional theologians of each community in Islam. They would be found in such a representative body as the staff of the Azhar¹ University at Cairo and also among the Egyptian nationalists.

(c) *The Modernists.*—But there are also those who realize that the old Islam cannot continue and must be essentially modernized. Among such there are two definite tendencies. The first one is to regard the modernizing as the principal need, whatever may happen to Islam in the process. The most conspicuous example of this tendency

¹The fame of this institution is world-wide, but its influence in active propaganda may be overestimated. In 1909, according to Gairdner, its total number of students was less than a thousand. Its graduates are far more likely to settle down as law authorities in some well-Islamized district than to become missionaries. See Arminjon, "L'Enseignement" (72).

is the Young Turkish movement. It cares little for Islam, if only the Ottoman Empire may be modernized and so may survive. But there is another reforming party to whom, not their country and their race, but their religion, is now the principal consideration. They wish to produce an Islam that will be possible in the modern world, but it must still be Islam. The best example of this tendency is to be found in the Egyptian nationalists. They may call themselves Egyptian and nationalist, but it is of Islam that they are always thinking. The instrument which these last named hope to use in their reforms is the doctrine of the Agreement. According to that doctrine the Moslem people, if they can only agree, can make of Islam what they please. The young Turks, on the other hand, are not greatly concerned to avail themselves of a legal device like this. If Islam should show itself standing obstinately in their way, they would not scruple to throw it over. This is what lies behind the New Turanian movement (*Yeni Tūrān*).¹

2. *According to Their Inner Attitude.*—People naturally tend to be conservatives, individualists or reformers (progressives). So in Islam we find:

(a) *The Traditionalist.*—He holds by the faith of his fathers through a natural instinct. He unreservedly adheres to what he has been taught. There often lies in this firmness a kind of patriotism. For him Islam takes the place of a fatherland. He is a fellow citizen with the other Moslems of the world. The mere carrying out of the prayers, of the prescriptions, of the various obligations of a true Moslem according to the usage that he has learned satisfies his spiritual being. The theologian would say of him, half scornfully, that he was an imitator (*muqallid*), and some would even go the length of doubting whether he really possessed a saving faith, inasmuch as he could

¹ See "The Arabian Situation" in *The Nation* for November 8, 1917.

give no argued reason for it. Of this type are the great masses of uneducated Islam.

(b) *The Legalist*.—From the traditionalist develops another type. Its absorbing interest lies in the details of the ritual law, since its representatives believe that salvation lies in the settlement of matters of “mint, anise and cummin.” This type has been educated in a typically Moslem school, such as the Azhar, along old lines. Its faith must be a reasoned faith, but reasoned on a scholastic basis. It is perhaps even further than the first type from the modern world, for it has the armor of a certain sort of education and learning. This is the class, not so large as influential, of the interpreters of the law (*‘Ulamā*), who are scholastic intellectualists, and have little contact with the visions and aspirations of the religious life. Islam for them is a theology and not an experience. They look forward across an intervening period of deterioration, whose conclusion will synchronize with the coming of the Mahdi, to a millennial day when a new life will quicken the failing system of Islam, but the goal they anticipate is that of Mohammed and the early fathers.

(c) *The Mystic*.—When the thoughtful Moslem is also religiously-minded there appears a third type. The traditionalist does not do much thinking; the legalist has little real religious spirit. But let a Moslem be both thoughtful and religious and he is bound to enter upon the path of the mystic. He is driven to think out for himself his personal relationship to Allah and that relationship will express itself in free terms of experience and emotion rather than in the formulas of scholastic theology. He is not an intellectualist, except as he uses the intellect for its own self-destruction, and having thus reached an agnostic position falls back upon the experience of the individual as the only certainty. From this assumed personal basis the mystic may go back to the traditional faith of his fathers, or he

may sweep out in metaphysical speculations as to the ultimate and basic nature of God, of the world or of himself. He will commonly call himself a Sufi (*Ṣūfī*), a term derived from the woolen robe which the earliest ascetic mystics used to wear, but that term indicates nothing except that he bases his faith upon his own experiences in his intercourse with the Divine. The mystic may be a member of a dervish fraternity, or he may hold himself aloof from all organizations. The spell of Islam to him is neither its ritual nor its racial significance, but its lofty conception of God. The Sufi is the Platonist or even the Neo-platonist of Islam.

(d) *The Individualist*.—Opposed to all these, at one point or another, is the individualist, who is also a modernist or reformer. He recognizes that the Islam of his fathers is impossible in the modern world and stands for its reconstruction. Only sentiment holds him to the older faith, but that tie may be very strong. The music and mystery of the Koran sound in his ears, while the figure of Mohammed assumes for him a rare personal attraction. He believes that Islam may assimilate, if it does not manifest, every vital element in religion. In consequence he has an instinct along with all his reforming insight and energy to revert either to the simple Koran or to what he can assure himself of regarding the position of Mohammed. He throws aside the dialectic of the scholastic or only retains it as a weapon against those who are without. He may be a mystic or not; but his individualism does not leave him self-centered, but rather urges him to seek the good of the community. He is missionary in spirit. His religious passion often reaches the point of bigotry. In his relationship with his fellows he has naturally to be all things to all men. To effect the reforms which he seeks he cannot afford to offend the other types, however little sympathy he may have with them. Such men, of course, vary greatly

in weight of character, learning and influence. They vary, too, in sincerity and honesty as regards themselves and others. There are very many of them, but yet occasionally there even appears in this class a figure which reminds us of the wandering scholars of the Renaissance, such as Erasmus. For in this connection it should never be forgotten that the Moslem world is passing through a real renaissance with all its tangled motives and crossing currents, and this Erasmus of Islam may, on another side of his brain, be a political schemer. The individualist is represented by Aligarh in India, or by the type in Egypt which Lord Cromer called a modern Moslem. He is an ardent supporter of nationalist movements everywhere.

(e) *The Materialist*.—There remains a type which is a problem and a danger, not only for the world of Islam, but for the world at large, the materialist. The young men who are going through the modern schools and receiving a so-called modern education are largely losing their own religion and gaining no other to put in its place. Islam with them is little more than a racial cult. The missionary will find that his task with such men is not to convert them from Islam to Christianity, but to convince them that there is need of any religion at all. They are indifferent and worldly, not reformers, because they have no ideals. When they maintain some relationship to Islam it is as the only religion for a sensible man or as the religion of the State. They are a natural product of an education in which religion has no part, and one of the problems for the missionary of the future will be how to put religion back into their education. This problem, of course, is appearing everywhere in the mission field; but in Islam it is peculiarly difficult, for, except in the dervish fraternities, there is no organization in Islam for the broad teaching of religion, and the fraternities tend to affect the lower, uneducated classes only, and, on the other hand, on account of Islam's

definite antagonism to Christianity, some missionary educational institutions have been too much inclined to minimize a positive Christian emphasis. Here, therefore, there is a wide field and opportunity for wise yet firm evangelistic work in such institutions and for such organizations as the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations.

3. *According to Race and Environment.*

(a) *The Original Moslem Type.*—This type can hardly be found outside of Arabia. There it still lives the life which the prophet lived and there only is his exact imitation a possibility. It might seem natural to take the Wahhabites as the example of this original type; but even among them, in spite of their endeavor to revert to the usage of the prophet and of his companions, much of the later scholasticism is to be found. Still more at Mecca is the university there an example of mediæval and not of primitive Islam. In certain respects the court of the ibn Rashīds at Ḥāyil in the Nejd is a better example of the Arabia of Moham-med's time, because it is more the capital of an Arab state, and is not affected by the puritanic rigors of Riyāḍ or the scholastic theology and law of Mecca. The ancient civilization of Yemen, always different from that of central and northern Arabia, the Ibāḍite settlement at Oman ('Umān) and the pearl divers and fishermen and reformed pirates of Baḥrain on the coast of the Persian Gulf are examples of still other phases of the Arab type.

(b) *The Types Produced by National Mixtures.*—When the adherents of Islam issued from the desert they encountered other and different races and had to adapt the new régime to them. Some of these races were closely akin to them, such as the population of Syria; others were very different, such as the peoples of Persia, Egypt and North Africa. Still later came the contact with the different Turkish tribes and with the very mixed population of Asia Minor and with the peoples of Central Asia. Later

still came the contact with India. The further that Islam had to travel and the stranger the races that it met, the greater were the modifications that it underwent, especially in its popular forms. The elasticity of the four separate schools of canon law (p. 51) helped the matter of adjustment, and even different systems of theology, as those of Ash'arī and Māturīdī, were accepted as possible in orthodox Islam. Another source of adjustment came with the split between the Sunnites and the Shi'ites, and the conflicting claims to the Caliphate were often an expression of separate nationality. And behind these differences recognized in Moslem theory and literature were the still greater differences of popular belief, usage and law, which even reached formal expression in the different systems of secular law mentioned above.

(c) *Extreme Types*.—Other races, lying still further away from Mecca, diverging still more clearly in type and reached still later, were those of Central Africa and of the Dutch East Indies. In these lands their primitive Animism has so altered their acquired faith that it is often hard to recognize that the people are Moslems at all.

(d) *Conclusion*.—In view then of all these types within Islam, it is plain that while the missionary should secure a good knowledge of what may be called book-Islam, it will be necessary for him on his field and in contact with his people to study anew and with great care their particular type of religious development. It will be vital that he shall guard against being blinded to such divergencies by what he knows of book-Islam, and, on the other hand, avoid accepting the attitudes and beliefs of his field for those of the Moslem world in general. This latter danger is in practice the real one.

IX. WHAT CHRISTIANITY MAY ADD TO ISLAM

The fact that one-seventh of the human race professes Islam not only warrants but compels a careful study of the vital elements in the religion which Mohammed proclaimed. Islam is not moribund or quiescent, but aggressive. Its adherents are devoted, even fanatical. It has gripping power over the human heart, it sways innumerable lives along channels which are by no means those of least resistance, it manifests a real vitality. Christianity cannot brush Islam aside, but must prove that it deals more satisfactorily with the universe. It is a duty of the missionary to Moslems to consider how Christianity may best be presented to them so that it may enlist their devotedness and their faithfulness and offer the richer life of the spirit through fellowship with the divine to which Islam scarcely aspires. First of all he may well consider what Christianity has to offer to the Moslem.

(1) *An Emphasis Upon the Ethical Character of God and Upon the Real Nature of Sin.*—It is one of the great glories of the Hebrew people that in their religious thinking they came to regard Jehovah, their God, as a Being essentially moral, supremely holy. This emphasis on the ethical character of God has not taken place in any at all comparable degree in the Allah of the Moslems. Good and evil for Islam are left in an ambiguous position. At one time they may be treated as though they were realities in themselves, but at another time they are made entirely dependent upon the will of Allah. In the theology of Islam it is explicitly declared that good is what Allah states to be good, and evil what he states to be evil, and to assign an essential existence to good and evil is heresy. Islam goes beyond even the most extreme historically Calvinistic teachings in asserting that "Allah leads astray whom He wills," and that "there is no necessity upon Him to do that which

may be the best for the creature." Christianity needs to make clear to the Moslem mind the essential inconceivability of such a position with regard to a being who can be called God, and while asserting the absoluteness of the will of God it must assert also His holiness, justice and truth. The missionary will grasp any opportunity to develop in detail the Christian conception of our just and merciful Heavenly Father. He will undoubtedly encounter theological subtleties in opposition, but he will likewise find a response in many a Moslem mind.

The assertion of the ethical character of God makes necessary the consideration of sin as a fact in the world, however it may have entered the world. The missionary will probably discover that the Moslem is inclined to accept the fact of sin and of sinfulness in man as something that is there and cannot be helped. This is because for him sin is a part of the created nature of man, "Man that is created of clay, how can he be aught but sinful?" The story of the Fall, however interpreted, has undoubtedly had large ethical value in Christendom by reason of its assumption that sin did not inhere in the first creation. Whoever discusses sin with a Moslem should acquaint himself carefully with the Moslem doctrine of the *nafs*, which is practically equivalent to our "flesh,"¹ which must be subdued and brought into acquiescence with and rest in the will of God. This is analogous to the moral and spiritual transformation on which Christianity insists, and will serve to open the way to a helpful discussion of the real nature of sin.

(2) *The Conception of a Mediator Between God and Man.*—It is a striking paradox in Islam that its theology labors to make God really unknowable to man, while its religious faith and experience assert that God reveals Himself immediately to every man who turns towards Him.

¹ Macdonald: "Religious Attitude." Lecture 8.

To the devout Moslem those two declarations seem irreconcilable; but Christianity seeks to break down the theological conception of an absolute God which fosters the first conclusion, and, by developing the Christian Trinity and the mediating work of Christ as a part of that Trinity, gives a reasoned basis for the second. Again, the second, the religious attitude, is in constant danger of passing into a pantheism in which the individual loses his entity in the Divine. But the Christian teaching of the spiritual union of the believer with Christ, even while fully retaining his own identity, is a real solution. The yearning of the Moslem mystic for absolute contact with his Lord can be satisfied, and yet the personality of both can be saved. On the theological side, also, Islam has tended towards pantheism, because of the emphasis which it has laid upon the unique reality of Allah. The world of created things has, in consequence, tended to be regarded as an unreal, passing show. But the proper teaching of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity sets forth a God who is imminent in his creation, but does not absorb it.

(3) *The Thought of Man as Made in God's Own Image.*—In the Christian doctrine that man is made in the image of God there is implied the possibility of man, approximately yet sufficiently, knowing God. This is essential to all Christian thought and may well be emphasized with Moslems. But the missionary should also know that mystical Islam teaches the same doctrine which has been crystallized in a tradition put into the mouth of Mohammed. "Man was created in the image of Allah" (*fī ṣūratī-llāh*). This, of course, is in flat contradiction with the doctrine of the Difference as that doctrine is commonly stated by the theologians. Mystics, however, reply that the Difference only affects the essence of Allah, his *dhāt* which is absolute and unconditioned, while that of the creature is finite and conditioned.

(4) *The Brotherhood of All Men and the Fatherhood of God.*—With reference to those distinctive Christian teachings, also, we encounter another conflict between Islam's theory and practice. Theological and legal Islam, on the basis both of the Koran and of tradition from the prophet, entirely reject the idea of the brotherhood of all men. Scholars argue that men are either Moslems or not. If they are Moslems they are brothers, otherwise not. True friendship even between Moslems and non-Moslems they declare to be explicitly forbidden. On the other hand, the mystics of Islam accept and reiterate the brotherhood of men and even the equality before Allah of the different faiths. When this last stage of conviction has been reached, the mystic, of course, has ceased to be a Moslem, but it is exceedingly difficult to state where this stage really begins. A similar situation holds with reference to the idea of the fatherhood of God. All Islam, theological and religious, refuses to use the terms "Father" and "Son" of God and man, but devout Islam, while not using these expressions, practically implies them, and describes a relationship between the believer and his Lord that closely resembles that of Christian sonship. The equivalent for these terms in all Islam are the words slave and master (*'abd* and *rabb*). Even the thoroughly devout Moslem feels no difficulty in describing himself as a slave of Allah, just as Paul described himself as the *doulos* of Christ, meaning in both cases to indicate the acknowledged, absolute right of the Master to deal with his servant as may please Him, with, at the same time, a full reliance that that dealing will be kindly, loving and just. But for all this, and however the mystic may try by devout legend and exegesis to put religious meaning into those words, the average Moslem does not think accordingly.

Yet it is striking how the Johannine doctrine of sonship attracts the Moslem mystic. In spite of all his theological objections to the use of the terms "Father" and "Son" and

although they are under the ban and unused by all Islam, theological and religious, it is precisely the Gospel of John with its teaching of the uncreated Word which most of all appeals to him. Through its explicit teaching of a universal brotherhood and of the divine fatherhood he finds expression for conceptions which have been long and deeply felt.

When, then, a Moslem has reached the conviction that all men are brothers and that God is the common father of all, he will be ready for self-sacrificing service to mankind as a whole and will cease to be indifferent to all but fellow Moslems.

(5) *Freedom of Life Under the Gospel.*—When general revivals and individual conversions occur in Islam—and they have occurred and do occur often—they are almost always inspired by fear of the hereafter. It is even true in the case of mystical theologians of wide and deep religious experience that they have at first been driven to devotedness by the fear of hell and have, thereafter, felt constrained to live a life apart from the world in order to be able to retain their religious attitude. Of course, there are many sincerely devout Moslems who live in the everyday world; but a profound religious experience in Islam does not generally send the recipient back into the world to live there and to do his part in it, but rather seems to warn him to separate himself from all that is not specifically and clearly religious. The believing Moslem who lives and works in the world may be said to hold his faith in a more formal way. The dervish fraternities, it is true, recognize the claims of this world by admitting tertiaries, who live and work in the world and yet are furnished by their fraternity with the means of devotion and of occasional retreat. Notwithstanding this device, the division in Islam between the things of this world (*ad-dunya*) and of the world to come (*al-ākhirah*) is deep and broad, and the pious meddle with the first only at the risk of their eternal damnation.

To those taught to accept this distinction the Christian

conception of the perfect freedom of the service of Christ comes like a breath of fresh, cold air. For in spite of the appearance in Christendom of these same phenomena, the reasonableness of Christ's religion has never been long held under such bonds. The life of Christ in the Gospels, and especially in the Synoptics, with its healthy contact with all sides of life and its solutions, reasonable and yet deep-cutting, of the recurring problems of life, makes this freedom perfectly evident. The mere reading of the Gospels establishes the true significance of the "Kingdom of Heaven." There have not, of course, been wanting in Christendom similar tendencies towards separating the two worlds, but they have not dominated Christian thinking.

(6) *Freedom of Scientific Investigation*.—A student of the history of Islam is forced to note that time and again Moslem peoples have experienced renaissances of culture, literary and scientific, which have never endured for very long. They have always had a certain forced character and have usually grown out of the favor of ruling princes or of dynasties. The great example of this is, of course, the period under the early Abbasids, but they arose also under the Fatimids, and under the Spanish Umayyads. Yet Islam has never been able to show any definite thread of progress, one period leading to another, all being a part of a steady forward drift.

The reason for this regular stoppage of such revivals is not entirely plain. It has been sought at different points. Many have explained it by the predestinarianism of Islam. But Protestantism a century ago was quite as predestinarian in its theology, without abating its intellectual life. There is, however, a distinction to which religious Islam has always held, and which may in part be an explanation. It is that between useful knowledge and a knowledge which cannot at once show a practical purpose. By useful knowledge Islam means that which is useful either for this world

or for that to come. Its utilitarianism has therefore a wide scope, but it is still utilitarianism. If a Moslem cannot show to himself that a study or task or sport produces specifically useful results, either for his life here or for his eternal salvation, then it is held to be better for him to leave that interest alone. This does not mean the complete avoidance of play or sport, because diversions can be justified on the ground of health or of relaxation, but it does mean that the merely interesting, the pursuit of disinterested curiosity, should not be cultivated. In consequence, all scientific investigation has to justify itself to Moslems by the immediate production of some useful result. The early criticism in America of Benjamin Franklin's experiments in electricity was exactly Moslem in type. No Moslem investigator, however, seems to have hit upon Franklin's reply, "What is the good of a baby?" The scientific babies of Islam have been all too few. The Moslem philosophers and scientists of early centuries were often good pupils, learning eagerly from the Greeks and Indians, but they seldom added anything to what they learned. Mediæval Europe undoubtedly owes them a debt, as the first link with the civilization of the Greeks, but not for anything which they contributed of themselves.

In contrast, the practical working of Christianity has been clear. Christendom, despite its occasional narrowness, has never really handicapped intellectual life or scientific investigation. When European civilization made its fresh beginning with the Renaissance, intellectual life was fostered on all sides by the Christian Church. There have been conflicts between so-called religion and so-called science, but Christendom has always recognized that the world is a subject for study in the most absolute sense, and that it is man's duty to seek to fathom its mysteries, and to make ever clearer its workings as those of God. Islam, on the other hand has tended to admonish the faithful to take that

which Allah sends to them without considering it too carefully. The world for Islam is the mystery of Allah; He only knows it and can know it and it is better for mankind to avoid too curious investigations. In this one respect Christianity has a vital message for the best minds of Moslem countries.

(7) *The Right of All to Education.*—The natural result of the tendency described in the preceding section has been to limit technical training to the narrowly useful, and intellectual training to theology and canon law. Consequently the secular sciences and their technical applications have been gradually crowded out of Moslem higher education and reduced to the standing of arts and crafts. Still more serious has been the fate of primary education. Centering around the study of the Koran, often in a purely mechanical fashion, primary training has placed all its weight upon the training of the few boys who have been likely to go on to university studies, that is, to become theological or canon lawyers. The great mass of children who look to no such distinction have been neglected. Their intellectual discipline and the development of their powers seem never to have appealed to the Moslem mind. The conception that the intellectual progress of a people depends on the intellectual stimulus of the masses from whom the leaders must come has played no part in Islam. There is no trace in Moslem literature of the conception of the essential dignity of the village school. Rather the schoolmaster is always a butt for ridicule. It is true that Islam has always honored the learned man, whether a university teacher or a private scholar, but it has never honored either the life of the common school or its teacher. In consequence a snobbish spirit prevails among the learned. Like the old Pharisees they say, "This people that knoweth not the law is accursed." Christianity has a mighty appeal to the popular mind in Moslem lands through its demonstration of the

right of all to education and of the fundamental importance of the primary school.

(8) *The True Place of Womanhood in Life.*—The woman problem in Islam goes much deeper than any question of polygamy, concubinage or divorce. It begins with the attitude of Mohammed himself towards women, and works itself out practically through the application of the doctrine of the imitation of the Prophet. Mohammed's attitude to women was frankly sexual. This set a tone for his followers, and even stamped indulgence with religious approval. In consequence even asceticism in Islam has not been extended to sex and the place of women in Islam has been hopelessly compromised. The first generations of Islam witnessed an outburst of sexualism; even the decent reserves of language which existed in the old pre-Moslem poetry vanished after Mohammed's day. Early Moslem writers noted this fact with regret and speculated upon its cause. But there can be no question that the real cause was the personal example and influence of Mohammed. This fundamental question of morals is one of the most serious problems that modern Islam faces. Some Moslem apologists have been driven to the curiously inverted conclusion that in this matter Mohammed is not to be imitated, because, as a prophet, he was not bound by ordinary rules.

It is hardly necessary to stress the contrast of the Christian position which recognizes that women are people among the people in the world, not existing simply because of and for their sex, and that they should contribute their distinctive share to social and to public life. The missionary cannot lay too great emphasis upon the education of girls. If true wives are to be provided for the young men of Islam, it can only be done by educating the girls. Otherwise whatever education may be given to boys will be almost eliminated in social and family respects by the

hampering and degrading influence of their uneducated wives. A very great part of the continuity of a civilization and perhaps the deepest and most essential part is carried by its women, and until the Oriental woman knows herself and has found her proper place, Oriental civilization will be crippled and discontinuous.

(9) *Christianity and Childhood*.—Islam teaches that all children are born Moslems, but afterward their parents pervert them. This is expressed in a tradition from Mohammed: "Every infant is born on God's plan, then his parents make him a Jew or a Christian or a Magian."¹ This tradition has led to interminable discussion among theologians and canon lawyers, but religious Islam has accepted it as meaning practically that "children are of the kingdom of heaven." What they really understand by this is that Islam is the natural religion and that the uncontaminated human mind is Moslem. This, however, is different from maintaining that the kingdom of heaven is best represented by the child mind and that therefore there must be in children along with the promise of the future a unique dignity and appeal. At this point appears Christianity's real contribution to the attitude toward children and child-life.

(10) *The Significance of Suffering in Life*.—No religion solves the problem of the existence of suffering in a world ruled by a just and merciful God, but theological Islam is perhaps the most relentless of all in the unmerciful logic of its statements upon this point. In some forms it even uses the problem of suffering to increase the unknowableness of Allah. The Koran calls him "the most merciful of those who show mercy." "But," says the Moslem theologian, "experience demonstrates the absurdity of that statement in its literal meaning. Therefore these words cannot mean what they would mean, if said of a man, and we really do

¹ See article *Fitra* in the "Encyclopedia of Islam."

not know what they do mean." Christianity, on the other hand, is not so logical. It admits the mystery and incorporates it in its religion as an essential part of the experience of the world, and sanctifies suffering through the suffering of its founder and the suffering even of God in him. Value and meaning are thus given to suffering and it ceases to be simply a horror, becoming a positive element in life. It is true that we do not know why it is there, but the whole drift of Christian thought, beginning with the example of Christ, is to accept it, to use it and to know that it can be accepted and used. The mystery of the Cross and of the suffering of our Lord thereon is part of the great mystery in the whole world, and the example of the patience and strength of our Lord has proven potent to deliver men from the power of sin and to emancipate them from the fear of suffering. The Christian Church has even taught that men can fill up the measure of the sufferings of Christ and by that means have fellowship with Him, understand Him and do some part for others with Him. Suffering, in a word, in Christianity is not a thing simply to be endured, but to be experienced and used, and in it the human and the divine can come into closest sympathy.

(11) *The Divine Share in Human Life*.—In Islam the Divine guidance of man is wrought through a book. By it Allah commands, forbids and instructs mankind. It is the word of Allah addressing man. Islam therefore very early came to the conclusion that this was no ordinary book, but that there lay in it a mystery and that it, as the word of God to mankind, could be said to be uncreated and eternal. When, then, the Moslem recites it, hears it or remembers it, it is as though that uncreated word of Allah was sounding in his ears. Nevertheless, it is to him an unchanging revelation.

On the other hand, the revelation of God to man in the Christian scheme is His coming in the person of Christ, His

living among men in the human Jesus and His continual manifestation in the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, the interpreter and guide of life. Christianity recognizes that with the incarnation there began a new working of the Divine in human life. Islam is still on the Old Testament religious basis. God is outside of life, although constantly directing it; but in Christianity he has had and still has that share in human life that has been expressed at one time by immanence, which every generation must express for itself and for which our generation is now seeking a word. It is true that the mystics of Islam, like the mystics of all times, have come very close to this position, and on the basis of religious experience have taught that the individual soul can be and is guided personally by Allah. This, however, is in paradox with the fundamental theological position of the separation between Allah and his world, and mystical Islam has found no systematic way of solving this puzzle. But lacking the doctrine of the Trinity they tend to sway between pantheism, on the one hand, and intellectual agnosticism, on the other. The missionary should be very sure that he can state the doctrine of the Christian Trinity in terms that will meet this Moslem need.

(12) *The Communion of Saints*.—As the government of the Moslem states became gradually infected with worldliness the religiously-minded in Islam withdrew from all contact with it, regarded the taking of government positions as dangerous for the welfare of their souls and doubted gravely the religious sincerity and honesty of all salaried government officials. There then gradually grew up the belief in the existence of a sort of heavenly board of administration. This was the government of Allah as opposed to that of those worldly princes and rulers. The members of this heavenly board were believed to be saints, alive and dead, who are arranged in a kind of hierarchy, the head being the link between God and the world and the adminis-

trators being those ordinary-appearing men who went their way in the ordinary walks of life, but were really the saints of Allah. Those saints who had passed away but were believed to reside in a personal sense in their tombs were additional links between God and the world and their intercession should be sought and might be hoped for. In this fashion Islam built up in a curiously concrete bureaucratic, governmental form a conception of the communion of saints uniting both worlds in a fellowship of service and constituting the real means by which Allah administers the world. A Moslem in trouble of any kind might hope that his trouble would be noticed and he himself relieved by the action of one or another of these functionaries. This is a beautiful conception, but it is not so helpful, appealing or spiritual a conception as the Christian teaching of the communion of saints uniting both worlds in prayer and service and with their prayers for each other ever ascending before the throne of God. The one is, as it were, a materialization of the other and the missionary should know how to use the Moslem conception to lead to the broader and more spiritual Christian view which covers all men and is separated from conventional machinery.¹

X. WHAT CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM HAVE IN COMMON

(1) *The Unity of God and of the World.*—It may hardly seem necessary now to stress monotheism, and to show that Islam and Christendom unite in at least a fragment of the creed "We believe in one God." But Christianity has sometimes run risks of tritheism, and, at the present day, one wing of Christian believers tends somewhat to put Jesus in the place of God, and another wing, the more philosophical, seems adrift toward a kind of polydæmonism. The testi-

¹ Cf. the Sufi hierarchy, p. 73.

mony of Islam, then, that there is no God save Allah may still be in point, and it will be well for the missionary to be sure that he understands exactly what Islam means by that, so that he will know how far he can follow his Moslem friends in the first and most important half of the Moslem creed.

On the unity also of the world he will have to learn to distinguish. He will agree with Islam in unifying it all as the creation of God and as informed throughout by a oneness as that creation. But he will not be able to follow the Moslem in his attitude of helpless wonder before the created world. His Moslem friends will say — "*Mā-shā-Allāh!*" ("What wonders hath Allah willed!"), and will stop there. The missionary may well defend the right and necessity laid upon men to investigate and to analyze these wonders.

(2) *The Reality and Personality of God.*—Only through contact with Islam does a missionary learn to appreciate how real for the Moslem is the personality of Allah. This is not simply philosophical, that is, that Allah is the reality (*al-ḥaqq*) as opposed to the semi- or non-reality of created things, but it is an absolute feeling of Him as an individual Person behind life with His hand upon all things, a person on whose will depends from moment to moment the existence of all things. If, as one school of theologians has taught, Allah were to take His hand from the world for a moment, it would drop at once into nothingness. And this overwhelming personality is also imagined very concretely. The prophets and all the saints had known Him almost face to face. Many have seen Him in dreams, all the pious hope to see Him in paradise. The *Hū! Hū!* of the dervish in his ecstasy, a cry of "He, He," is in itself a testimony to this overwhelming sense of personality. The Koran, too, is full of anthropomorphic details about Allah; and however some theologians may explain them and may warn against psychological comparisons between man and God,

these have all gone to make still more real the Divine personality. It is true that for the Moslem Allah does not mix with men, as God is represented in the Old Testament as doing with Abraham and the patriarchs, and that Islam finds the resting of God on the seventh day blasphemous and His "repenting Him of the evil" impossible, but in other respects He is as real and near to the devoted Moslem as to Moses and David. This the missionary will gradually learn to appreciate in its full extent, and will learn, too, to understand how man can adjust himself to life in this presence and be not so very much affected by it in his personal conduct.

(3) *The Sinful Nature of Man.*—For Islam man by his created nature is sinful. He did not become so by any fall or change, but being made of clay, he could not be anything else. He therefore, cannot perfectly please God. Islam, in fact, accepts this sinful nature somewhat as a matter of course, and relies in the end upon the forgiveness and mercy of Allah. The difference then is that Pauline Christianity posits something of the nature of a Fall, a sinful change in the nature of man from his created nature, but Islam, while equally emphasizing his sinful nature, finds the solution of the problem of evil in the material out of which man was created.

But it is also to be remembered that under the pressure of the admitted fact of the existence of certain sinless beings, Islam has shown a tendency to fall back upon another theory of the origin of sin, that is, that sin is due to the infant at birth being touched or pierced by Satan—a kind of sinful contagion being thus conveyed. In this way the sinless nature of Jesus and his mother can be maintained, although they two were of flesh, for Satan was restrained by a miracle from touching them at birth.

Man, therefore, is not really responsible for his sinful nature and this undoubtedly affects the attitude of Islam

toward sin. But the sin is there and must be repented and on due repentance there will be forgiveness. Allah is merciful and forgiving and He loves the merciful and the forgiving. But this necessarily raises the question of what repentance means in Islam. The only safe answer is that it means as many different things as elsewhere. Undoubtedly there will be found in Islam an easy-going feeling that Allah is sure to forgive, more or less that it is His business to forgive. What would become of man, it is said, if Allah did not forgive. But this feeling deepens in the theologian into a more precise analysis of what Allah may require from man before He forgives. Repentance is consequently defined as consisting of three elements: "confession of the sin, compunction for it and determination not to return to it."¹ A missionary must be on his guard against too sweeping generalizations in regard to repentance. Otherwise he may alienate the thoughtful Moslem with whom he is dealing.

(4) *Each Man Standing Personally Before God.*—While Islam creates in the Moslem a strong community feeling as one of the people of Mohammed, distinguished in that from all others, yet the relationship of the individual to God is a purely personal one. It is for him personally to accept the guidance which God offers to all men and it is for men personally to do and to leave undone what God requires. He may seek advice as to details and about difficult cases, but he cannot shift off his responsibility upon another. Any conception of a priesthood standing between him and God is entirely abhorrent to Islam. This goes so far that Moslems find strange the idea even of the Protestant pastorate and admit no special relationship to the officials in charge of any mosque. They are simply conveniences through which he can better carry out his own personal worship. The only individual toward whom a Moslem can feel

¹ Beidhawi on the Koran, Sura 2, v. 35.

himself standing in a peculiar spiritual relationship is the sheik of his fraternity house, if he is a dervish, and there the relationship is of teacher and pupil. The sheik has instructed him in sacred things, has opened his spiritual eyes and led him along the path of the mystic. Therefore there has been created between them a relationship that does not hold between any others. But this does not mean that even the dervish in his *dhikr* does not stand immediately and personally before Allah.

In the eschatology of Islam it is true that signs of a community feeling break up the strict personal relationship. Each man has his "book" of good and evil deeds and these are individually weighed and reckoned in order to determine how long a time, if any, he must pass in the Fire,—which for the Moslem is "purgatory,"—before he enters the Garden. However, because of the peculiar relationship of Mohammed to Allah, and because also of the feeling that it would be unseemly for the Fire to touch one who believes in Allah, there are traditions which maintain that Moslems will be admitted to the Garden immediately after the judgment in a body. But then there are others which maintain quite different positions.

(5) *That the Worship of God is a Comfort and Strength to Man.*—It is in the five daily acts of worship (*ṣalāt*) that man most peculiarly stands personally before God. Worship for Islam is thus a paying of his duty on the part of man to his Lord, an act of respect like the duteous call upon any superior. But while it is thus an act of homage, it has also been so arranged by God as to be a comfort, healing and strength to man. Islam in fact believes that if any one with an open mind will go through the motions of this technical worship, it will affect him and make a believer of him, even though he is not one already. It is true that the Moslem theologians have had trouble in explaining why worship consists of just such utterances and motions of the

body. But the current explanation is to refer to the equally unknown elements in the prescription of a physician. Just as a patient takes what a physician prescribes and is healed by it, so man should go through these motions and may be sure that they will perform their perfect work in him. Thus it should be taken not only as a daily diet, but also for strength on particular occasions. There are traditions from Mohammed and from his immediate followers that tell how, when they were troubled by anything, such as a difficulty or a sorrow, they would gather strength and comfort by going through the *Ṣalāt*.¹

(6) *The Possibility of Immediate Intercourse between God and the Individual*.—When an individual man thus stands in the presence of God, God is not necessarily a God afar off, but is very near to the worshiper and intercourse is reciprocal. It is the paradox of Islam that while Mohammed, on the one hand, seems in the Koran to fix an absolute gulf between God and man and uses phrases that really imply that God is unknowable, on the other hand, he taught and practised that immediacy of intercourse which is the mark of the true mystic. Nor did he keep to himself and his fellow prophets all the possibilities of revelation and inspiration, but he taught that God could reveal himself, even did reveal himself to all men in some degree. Any man might hope to see God and be taught by him in dreams. "Dreaming," said Mohammed, "is one forty-sixth part of prophecy." Between the saints (*awliyā*) and Allah, there is, of course, still more immediate and frequent intercourse and the saints are on the way to be prophets. The essential difference between the saint and the prophet is that the latter has received a message to be handed on to others. Christianity, then, may differ with Islam as to the precise character of sainthood, but they are at one as to the immediate working of God in the human heart and His so revealing

¹ For an analysis of the beneficial elements in worship, see Beidhawi on Koran II, 46.

Himself. Further, Islam lays down that it is a duty for man to love God, but is in doubt as to whether it may fittingly be said that God loves man, and if that is said, as to what is the meaning then of the word "love." "For," say the theologians, "love implies a lack in the lover which the beloved must supply and in Allah there can be no lack." But these are the hair-splitting queries of theologians; the religious Moslem has no difficulty in describing the love of God for man and the beatitude of the immediate intercourse between God and man.¹

(7) *That God Has Revealed His Will to Man Through Men.*—By definition a prophet is a messenger sent by God with a message to men, and God has chosen to use human beings as his messengers. Angels may mediate between God and the prophet, but angels are supposed to come to prophets only. Ordinary men could not endure their glory. Therefore, God has in His mercy made use of flesh to teach flesh. Some theologians have illustrated the place of the prophet by comparing him to the cartilage that separates between bone and flesh. The bone could not be nourished directly from the flesh because of the difference of nature between them, but the cartilage takes up the nourishment and passes it on. So the prophet takes from the revealing angel and passes on to man.²

(8) *The Reality of a Judgment and of a Life to Come.*—This was one of the cardinal elements in the original teaching of Mohammed. Not only is there a God who is ruling the world, but He will hold a great assize of judgment and thereafter man and the *jinn*, as lost or saved, will live an entirely different kind of life to all eternity. This judgment to come, therefore, is the most important thing in life, and all man's endeavor should be set to meet it successfully. Islam, orthodox, heretical and mystical, is "other-worldly"

¹ See the article "Blessedness in Mohammedanism," Hastings' "Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics."

² Beidhawi, Koran, II, 28.

to the highest degree. Wherever, therefore, a revival has come in Islam or an individual has passed through the process of conversion, it has been wrought by fear of the Fire. This holds even of the greatest saints. In fact, one of the greatest weaknesses in Islam is the absence in it of the broad, healthy-minded saint. The worldly-minded may take his chance of escape through the mercy of Allah and enjoy the world, but it seems hardly possible for the thoroughly religious Moslem to enjoy the world. This, of course, has appeared also in some phases of Christianity, but is not essential to it, and is strictly opposed to the healthy-mindedness of Christ. The missionary will have to be on his guard against overemphasizing the fear of the consequences of sin as opposed to a shrinking from sin itself.

XI. THE METHOD AND ATTITUDE OF THE MISSIONARY APPROACH TO ISLAM

(1) *The Necessity of Varying Methods.*—It must be already clear that there are several outstanding types of Moslems, and within these types there may, as with Christians, be great individual variety. The argument which arouses one Moslem or meets his need may have no effect at all upon another. It is necessary, therefore, for the missionary to avoid settling on one method. He will find that almost every case must be taken by itself. But it is true that there are certain types, and to meet the need of those types there are certain definite aspects of Christian truth. These may not be the aspects which appeal most to the missionary himself, but they will always be essential. It is precisely here that the practical importance for the missionary of knowing thoroughly the ideas of Islam and the psychology of the Moslem mind appears. If he has

not, through study and experience, acquired what might be called a Moslem side to his brain, he will not be able to enter into the difficulties of the individual Moslem before him, and in public speaking it will be impossible for him to establish that rapport with his audience which is the secret of all persuasion.

(2) *The Primary Necessity to Present Christ.*—The missionary goes as a preacher of Christ. But Christ has very many aspects, and the question for him before each audience and with each individual must always be which aspect will most immediately and effectively present the essential Christ. Three methods will bear emphasizing:

(a) *The Direct Approach.*—The gospels will always interpret themselves and will present Christ to the Oriental in a way impossible to any Occidental interpretation. The gospels are Oriental to their core and Orientals understand them. The missionary therefore may consider that a great part of his work is done when he has once fairly set his Moslem inquirer face to face with Christ in the gospels themselves. One man may care more for one gospel, another for another, but the one Figure stands out in all.

(b) *Through the Prologue of John.*—An individual case of approach is to be found in the prologue to the gospel according to St. John. In fact, there is hardly in all the Bible another passage which affords so simple and immediate a development from Islam into Christianity. As verse after verse is read, the Moslem may feel that some of the phrasing is a little careless, but he will, at the same time, assent to its broad truth. Only when he comes to the great assertion: "And we beheld His glory, the glory of the only Begotten of the Father" (John 1:14) will he have passed beyond Islam.

(c) *Through Philippians 2:7.*—Another individual case of immediate contact is found in Philippians, 2:7. "Taking the form of a *doulos*." Here the Moslem will think at

once of the passage in the Koran where Christ speaks of himself as an '*abd*, a slave, or, as we might render it broadly, a creature, exactly the same as the Greek *doulos*. The missionary then can develop what Paul meant and what the Christian Church understands by the use of this term. The whole conception of the serving Christ, of how he humbled himself for our sakes, can be developed from it. It should be noted that Islam in general does not think of a prophet as humble or as serviceable in the broad way of Christian thought. The Moslem conception of the prophet has always been that of the ruler and dominator, that of Moses, in fact, eliminating his meekness. This deeper conception, then, in connection with Christ, is of primary importance, and can be followed up further by the fact that the stories current among Moslems exhibit him almost uniformly on the side of the helper or healer.

(3) *The Cosmic Christ*.—But there is one aspect of Christ which has such close parallels in Islam and is so suggestive for Moslems that it must be taken by itself. Christ as a great personal force in relation to the whole world rather than as an individual meeting the needs of separate souls, appeals to the more philosophical and mystical Moslem mind. With them as with us there are many to whom the problem of the world rises as a broad and general one. They desire to know the whence and the why of the universe, the great purpose and idea in it all, rather than to reach any strictly personal help and salvation. Their peace of mind is found in seeing the world as a cosmos, an ordered creation with an intelligible place for themselves in it, rather than any saving of themselves from the power and penalty of sin. It is to such minds as this that the prologue to the Fourth Gospel comes with luminous clearness. At once it raises in their minds two parallels. The first is with the uncreated quality of Allah which they call *kalām* (see p. 39), that quality of Allah by which He

created the universe and which found its earthly expression in the Koran. It is unnecessary to follow out the details of this parallel, but one detail of the development of the Christian position should be made clear to the Moslem. It is that the "word" in John's Gospel is not simply "speech," the utterance, i.e., of the Divine thought, but is the Divine thought itself; that *logos* is inadequately rendered by "word" or by *kalām* and still more by *kalima*, an "individual, single word." It is rather the equivalent of "reason" as well as "speech." The Moslem finds it easy to posit behind the universe, not simply an uncontrolled, unreasoned will of Allah, but a Divine Reason ordering and explaining the creation.

As the first parallel was with the Athanasian conception of Christ, so the second is with the Arian. It is an article of faith in Islam that Mohammed was the first of all created beings and that for his sake all the rest of creation was thereafter produced. This belief connects with the doctrine of the "light of Mohammed"—that appearance on the forehead of all his ancestors in the direct line, an outward sign of the prophetic personality which was being passed along through them. These ideas are not Koranic, but are among the additions which the syncretism of Islam adopted, probably under Persian influence. The parallel here is by no means so rich in meaning as the first and will lead at once to a direct clash as to the relative positions of Mohammed and Christ in the scheme of things, but still it is very close. Through it the Moslem has the idea of a being closer to Allah than any other, and of this being as a real cause of the universe.

(4) *Redemption From Sin*.—The place of sin in Islam has been stated above (p. 77), and the difference between it and the Christian conception has been stated. Probably a preaching of salvation as a deliverance from the tortures of hell would appeal most nearly to the average Moslem.

But it may be doubted whether the Christian missionary will desire to make this declaration quite so literally and concretely as his Moslem audience will understand it. It will be necessary to emphasize the idea of redemption from the power of sin, which will be a new idea and a distinct advance for the majority of Moslems. For this emphasis Paul's idea as developed in Romans will be found useful. But the missionary will need to make sure that his inquirers or converts do not stop short with the Moslem part of that idea and that they go on to understand Paul's whole position. The phrase "the body of this death" (Rom. 7:24) and the allegory of the potter and the pots (Rom. 9:21) might be accepted by a Moslem without any grasp of the real Christian position.

(5) *The Simplicity and Clearness of the Bible.*—Every missionary to Moslems has discovered that the testimony of the Bible to itself is truly impressive, and they have learned also by experience that to lead a Moslem to study the Bible itself with an open mind is by far his best introduction to Christianity. The infinite variety of the Bible plays its part in this. It may be the figure of Christ in one or more of the gospels that appeals; it may be the psychology of Paul; it may even be the fascinating stories or the clear development of historical narrative with one king following another in chronological sequence. The missionary must not be surprised at any apparent vagary of interest. Wherever the beginning is made, it nevertheless has been made. It is true that the Bible also has great handicaps. In no translation can it possibly attain the magical influence of the musical cadences of the Koran. Moreover, there is much in its frank anthropomorphism that might repel and has repelled Moslem readers. But these objectors have mostly been theologians and there is enormous evidence that the masses of Islam read the Bible eagerly. The only question for the missionary will be what

part of the Bible to present to each individual Moslem. It will be a question of tact or opportunity.

(6) *The Devout Life*.—Every missionary comes to admit that genuine devotion exists in Islam. Whatever we may think of the character of Mohammed, the fact is fixed that he was devout. And devotional exercises therefore have been common in Islam from the beginning. The missionary's problem will be how to make the transfer from these formal exercises into Christian devotion. He may easily find that some imitation of the devotional forms of Islam with a Christian content may be necessary. Moslem converts sometimes miss in Christian religious services the fervid ecstasies of the dervish *dhikr*. The singing of hymns and praying, either formal or free, cannot completely take the place of the more emotional devotions of dervishes, so numerous among the uneducated masses of Islam. This is one of the present problems of missions to Islam and should be constantly borne in mind by the missionary as he surveys his task, although it is also true that the dervish and his *dhikr* are viewed by the educated Moslem only with contempt. In Turkey especially the dervish is too often a wandering, greedy impostor, believed to be capable of any sin. There and in Persia many of them are admittedly antinomian. This tendency has reacted on the popular estimate. On the other hand, religious freedom and free personal devotion are of the very essence of the Mevlevite and Bektashite positions, and much is to be expected from them in the reform or the breakup of Islam.

Another point of contact of the same nature is the use of devotional phrases. The Moslem, as he walks or sits, repeats to himself with the assistance of his rosary the ninety-nine most beautiful names of Allah. There is a tendency amongst Christians to shrink from such supposedly mechanical devotions, but their being mechanical depends entirely on the spirit in which they are done. There can

be no question that a missionary will come very close to the soul of a devout Moslem simply by sitting by him and exchanging with him for his most beautiful names of Allah the names and epithets of God and Christ which occur in the Scriptures. In such intercourse as this the missionary will learn the part that beauty of language plays in Islam, and will be stimulated to the purifying, polishing and perfecting of his religious vocabulary.

(7) *Sympathy with Mystical Islam.*—The missionary will find that his contact with the mystics of Islam is more immediate and sympathetic than with all other Moslems. These men have broken with the stiff orthodoxy of formal Islam. Details of the canon law mean comparatively little to them. They interpret all rules and doctrines in the widest way and believe most fixedly in the “light that lighteth every man.” For them, therefore, this Christian, while technically he is an unbeliever and will necessarily go to the Fire, may yet be a person of religion and devotion. The missionary, therefore, should cultivate intercourse with such men. He should learn their methods of devotion and read their books. He will find much there to remind him of the Golden Legend of Medieval Europe and of the stories told of the early Egyptian hermits. Perhaps in his actual intercourse with the mystics even these hagiologies may become real and human to him. The Moslem mystical literature is undoubtedly the most human side of the Moslem theology, and in it the Divine spirit has most clearly worked with the Moslem heart and mind.

(8) *Answering Theological Questions.*—It is coming to be recognized that controversy, while it may at times be necessary, is not the principal part of a missionary’s task. His business, first and always, is to present Christ, and it has been suggested that that may best be done through the Gospels themselves. But the time will come when an inquirer will begin to ask questions. These will differ ac-

cording to his knowledge of his own religion and theology, but it is in the answering of these questions that the missionary will need to know the systematic theology of Islam. That is not a light task and it will not be achieved simply by studying the Koran. He will need to take some texts of theology, some creeds with their expositions, and master them thoroughly. In doing this he will find it worth while to trace out their parallelism with Christian systems of theology and to note the divergencies. For example, the parallel of the stricter theologians with Calvinism will be found very close and illuminative, while that of the more mystical theologians with the Roman system as stated by Aquinas will be closer. This latter parallel is probably not accidental, for it seems demonstrable that the mystical system of Al-Ghazzali influenced Aquinas indirectly through Spanish thinkers.

(9) *The Factor of Greatest Importance.*—In conclusion it should be said that in dealing with Moslems the personality of the missionary may be the decisive factor. This can be viewed on two sides, First: the doctrine of love by which many a Moslem will learn to distinguish Christianity will appeal with attractive power or act as a powerful deterrent according to the life of the individual missionary. If the missionary is so interested in the welfare of the people that he works heart and soul for their physical, intellectual and spiritual advancement, a good basis is furnished immediately for the closest relation with Moslems of similar ideals, and the way is paved to the breaking down of prejudice and opposition. If the missionary's interest in the people be found to be keen and sympathetic, leading him earnestly to seek to see all that is best in them, and to support all that is best, no matter by what name it may go, then friendships will develop which will give greater opportunities than any other relationship to present to the people Christ in all his attractiveness. This

capacity for sympathy with the people and for real friendship is the most important factor in the equipment of the missionary. Second: from the very nature of Islam its adherents are men and must be met by men. The theology of Islam has sometimes, even like some Christian theological systems, developed intolerance, bitterness and narrowness, but it has also fostered dignity, strength and manliness. These qualities the missionary must seek for with sympathy and understanding. He has no need of posing as a patron of an irreligious people. Once he knows them well he will discover the absurdity of such an attitude. He may even come to realize that they have a simplicity and fixity of faith which he would fain possess. To do anything with them, then, he must understand them, like them, trust them, and so give himself to them with all his heart and soul.

(10) *The Institutional Approach to Islam.*—While it is unnecessary to discuss in a detailed way the approach to Islam through the social and religious institutions of Christendom, the significance of this approach can hardly be overestimated. Islam is a fortress not readily battered down by artillery fire; it can only be captured by slow and indirect processes. This is all the more true, because Islam is not inert nor unaggressive, nor lacking in an institutional development of its own.

The work of the medical missionary and of the hospital goes far in breaking down prejudice and opening the way of the general missionary. These talk in universal terms a language of human brotherhood and friendship which not only invites, but forces a response in the hearts of the most bigoted or ignorant.

Closely allied to medical work is that of education. The average Moslem is densely ignorant. Islam makes little provision for the relief of this ignorance. The Christian school is highly efficacious in dispelling this ignorance and in arousing a healthy ambition for progress, which is in the long run dangerous to orthodox Islam.

THE PREPARATION OF THE MISSIONARY

The press is wonderfully efficient in preparing the stony soil of Mohammedan society for the seed of Christian truth. The mission presses at Cairo, Beirut and Lahore find an uninterrupted demand for all the good literature they can produce.

But above every other agency in opening the way of the missionary to Moslems should be ranked the native Christians, who, although not at present constituting a missionary force, have great latent possibilities. The missionary should not overlook the cultivation among them of the missionary point of view. Such Christians speak their languages,¹ are capable of dealing with them directly, and should be trained to understand and appreciate the Moslem mind. The despised Armenian or Copt may be, nevertheless, an adept in putting truth in ways to which a Mohammedan can react.

XII. THE PREPARATION OF THE MISSIONARY

A perusal of the preceding pages will convince any candidate for missionary service among Moslems that his course of preparation will be arduous and exacting. He does not get ready to face a simple people ready to drop their superstitions and to adopt Christianity. He rather will face a people full of religious pride and led by men who in their way, at least, are scholarly and sincere. His task will be exceedingly difficult, hence the most thorough preparation is desirable.

(1) *Along Physical and Social Lines.*—Islam fosters a very real "pride of life." There is a poise, a presence, a dignity, a haughtiness, a capacity for scorn, a strange capacity for making the impact of personal influence felt, that one often finds among Moslem leaders. Some of this

¹ It is to be remembered, however, that the phrasing used by an Armenian and by a Turk, and the meanings ascribed by them to many words and phrases may differ widely. A close analogy may, perhaps, be found in St. Paul's application of Greek, whether speaking to Jews or to pagans, to express Christianity's ideas. Did the Jews and the pagan peoples always and immediately understand the ideas involved in those new usages?

is a matter of religious training, a scorning of unbelievers; some of it is due to the fact that they hold themselves above the races subject to them, but in part it is physical. The leaders of Islam have all been described as men of splendid physical development. Colorless and savorless characters will not gain the respect and confidence of Moslems; missionaries ought to be men whose influence will tell, search and penetrate. While such influence does not necessarily accompany physical strength, yet personal presence and poise of personality contribute richly to the desired end.

The importance of social grace and courtesy in dealing with Mohammedans can scarcely be overemphasized. The need for emphasis on this point grows in part out of our naturally brusque and direct Western ways which constantly offend the Oriental, and in part out of our national lack of discipline in deferring to others. When arriving on the field, it will be well to heed Rice's suggestions, "It is well worth while to endeavor to acquire, as far as possible, the polite forms of speech used by the natives of the country in their intercourse with one another." But long before leaving the homeland, the prospective missionary to Moslems will do well to give heed to the little amenities of life which make for courtesy, grace, thoughtfulness for others, Christian kindness and true Christlikeness.

(2) *Along Intellectual Lines.*—Here a plea should be made for thoroughness. It is not so much a question of how much territory the student covers, as it is the acquiring of knowledge in a way that makes it an instrument ready for instant use in later years. The reasoning powers need to be developed to enable the future missionary to cut to the heart of his subject, to avoid becoming entangled in false reasonings and to be enabled always to set forth his conceptions of truth in clear and forceful form. The value of the study of logic will be manifest; it is the strongest

weapon of the defender of Islam. In philosophy, Platonism and Neo-Platonism are to be recommended in outline at least, for Islam in certain periods absorbed many elements from Neo-Platonism. Nor is the fundamental value of all philosophical study to be lost sight of: nothing perhaps is so productive of that elasticity of mind which gives due consideration to an opponent's viewpoint and makes a sympathetic dealing with it possible. The sciences provide much valuable information concerning the facts of the physical world which, though often unappreciated by the Oriental Moslem, serves as an argument at the very point where Islam is weakest. The study of sociology should have a large place in the preparation of the student for future life work among the Moslems. A facile use of German for reading important works, alone available in German and dealing with the problems of Islam, may be added to the list of requirements for indirect preparation.

(3) *Along Spiritual Lines*.—Christian influence is not a trick, but a life; fundamentally a question not of method, but of spiritual attainment. No man can lift men spiritually beyond his own spiritual height. The supreme consideration, therefore, is that the young missionary shall possess a genuine spiritual experience. To know God, to be conscious of His being and power, to have dealt directly with Him, to have talked with Him and to feel that He also has replied, to know Christ and to be following his leadership, to rejoice in personal salvation and personal fellowship with God; these are fundamental requirements for all missionary service, but preeminently for him who would deal with Moslems. To the Moslem's consciousness of God's presence and reality such an experience opposes a conception of God which is holier, truer and purer and which lends itself after all more really to the consciousness of God's reality and nearness than does the Moslem conception of Allah.

Add to this, uprightness of life and conduct. On the Moslem, disassociating too constantly religious experience and moral conduct, nothing makes a profounder impression than a religious profession backed up by blameless integrity of character. Absolute integrity was the secret of the power which was possessed by the Lawrences of the Punjab or by Gordon of Khartum, and the basis of the influence which their lives exerted.

Unselfishness, pure human love, disinterestedness; these are Christian virtues that are sorely needed and severely tested where Christian men and women undertake to lift Moslem men and women to a knowledge of Christ. There will be need for the root impulse of genuine love, though guided by wisdom and judgment so that love may have its widest manifestation, its farthest outreach, and its most abiding influence.

A life of prayer should characterize every prospective missionary to Islam. It is of little value to criticize the formality of Moslem prayer unless over against it is set a really adequate devotion to prayer. The prospective missionary may well ask himself whether his prayer life, if laid bare (and its ultimate discovery to others is not likely to be long delayed), might fairly claim, in its measure as well as its character, to illustrate the higher gospel which he preaches of God's readiness to draw near unto men. Furthermore, there is no world to which a missionary may go where the difficulty, the apparent impossibility of his missionary task, constitutes so distinct a challenge to prayer as in the Islamic fields.

The Moslem loves and reverences the Koran; he listens by the hour to its readings; he memorizes whole pages of it, often the whole. Dare the Christian missionary be less reverent with his Bible or be less a master of its teachings? He must go farther. Only as the Sacred Scriptures are found to be a pathway by which he finds his way into

the presence of God, only as they serve as a spiritual telephone over which he hears the living voice of a living God speaking to him individually; only so will the Bible retain its rightful place in his life throughout the years and become his most useful tool.

(4) *In General*.—One of the best ways of gaining a true perspective and a real enthusiasm, along with definitely helpful ideas regarding the real work of a missionary among Moslems, is for the candidate to lose no chance of consultation and of acquaintance with actual missionaries from the Moslem field. Such an experience will give reality and vitality to his plans, will help him to avoid many difficulties and will direct his attention to unrealized possibilities. At the same time, the candidate should remember that he has his own life to live and his own work to carry through. He needs a good start rather than a carefully adjusted scheme for a series of years.

A good missionary finds abundant use for all the learning he can acquire of the sort suggested in this report; he will find good advice exceedingly useful, yet, after all, his supreme need is a genuine missionary passion directed by love. Without it no one can succeed in the most complete sense; with it every element of culture or training finds its proper place, and initiates a long career of sacrificing service.

XIII. STUDIES OF SPECIAL VALUE TO ONE WHO IS TO BE A MISSIONARY TO MOSLEMS

The following lists are intended to suggest the lines of study which a missionary student of Islam might well take up in the course of his career. They are not exhaustive, but will serve to guide the judgment of the candidate or of the junior missionary. Those general studies which are common to missionary preparation for all fields and for

every type of service have been omitted, since they are adequately discussed in reports already issued.

1. *To be Pursued at College or at a Training School.*

Public speaking and debate.

Moslems, especially in India, like public discussion. Every aggressive missionary is drawn into it more or less. He is wise who becomes able to stand on his feet and think and argue.

Formal logic.

The Moslem teacher has a logical mind and uses closely reasoned argument.

Psychology, Philosophy and Ethics.

The average Moslem learned man is very much like a mediæval schoolman. Where a course on Mediæval Psychology is offered, it will be worth while to take it.

German and French.

One who dwells in the Near East finds these languages of great value, French for speaking, German for studying. To the serious student of Islam they are almost indispensable.

Ethnology.

This will introduce the student to the mixed Moslem world of today.

2. *To be Pursued at the Professional or Graduate Training School.*

Hebrew and New Testament Greek.

The Mohammedan scholar has a greater respect for the missionary who knows his own Scripture in the original tongues. Moreover, Hebrew affords a natural introduction to the study of the Semitic mind and of the Arabic language.

The principles and methods of the historical study of the Bible. These will have an important bearing on the Moslem's attitude to his own scriptures.

Early Church History through the great Christological controversies and the development of the Eastern Church.

To understand the beginnings of Mohammedanism the student must be acquainted with the history of the first six centuries.

Christian Apologetics.

The History of Christian Missions.

Mysticism: Christian and Non-Christian.

A grounding in Christian mysticism with a study of the mystical consciousness will prepare the student to understand the Moslem mystic.

The Comparison of Religions.

Islam is a very complex affair and needs to be studied in the light of all religious phenomena.

3. *To be Pursued during the Period of Specialization.*

Classical Arabic with some reading in the Koran.

Phonetics with especial reference to the Semitic languages.

The Koran in English compared with the New Testament.

The antecedents and early history of Islam.

The comparative study of Christian and Moslem theology.

The comparison of the religious thinking of Islam with that of the Roman system of Aquinas, and of Islam and Calvinism will be especially helpful to the student of Moslem theology.

The political and social problems of the Moslem land to which the candidate is to go.

Modern developments in Islam; tendencies, sects and religious orders.

The missionary approach to Islam: points of contact, divergence, etc.

The history of Christian missions in the country to which the candidate is to go.

4. *To be Pursued during the First Period of Active Missionary Service.*

The thorough mastery of the vernacular of the people in the district to which the missionary goes.

The reading of periodical and popular literature in this vernacular.

The study of the Koran in the Arabic.

The literature of Islam.

The intensive study of the Islam of the missionary's own field.

A study which takes into account the modifications due to environment and the development due to surrounding religions.

The study of the Moslem controversy with Christianity.

5. *To be Pursued during the First Furlough.*

Reading in the standard Arabic grammarians and interpreters and in literature.

Exercises in writing Arabic.

A study of the leading Moslem creeds.

Hebrew and Rabbinical history and thought from 500 B.C. to 550 A.D.

A comprehensive survey of world-wide Mohammedanism.

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A survey of missionary methods used with Moslems.

A review, as far as feasible, of philosophy, ethics and theology, so as to become adjusted to their progress.

6. *Themes for the Permanent Attention of a Missionary to Moslems.*

The accurate rendering of the Koran into the vernacular of his district.

The adaptation of the essential Christian message to the Moslem mind and heart.

The vital forces in Islam and its future contribution to Christianity. Islam as a true Moslem sees and feels it.

The animistic element in Islam.

The attitude of the Christianized Moslem to Mohammed.

The development of Moslem society.

XIV. THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ISLAM

The following list of books has been prepared with the needs of the thoughtful student of Islam in mind. It includes many titles which will be out of the reach of the average missionary, but none about which it would not be well for him to have some general knowledge. In the sections which follow the bibliography the most useful and essential volumes are indicated. The most complete bibliography for the Koran, for the Traditions and for Mohammed is in Parts 10 and 11 of Chauvin's *Bibliographie Arabe*. Every missionary library on Islam which aims at working completeness would wisely include at least these two Parts.

A. SOURCES (MAINLY IN TRANSLATIONS)

1. Al-Baghawī. Maṣābīḥ as-sunna. Many Oriental editions. A large and miscellaneous collection of traditions without *asnād*. For its place and importance, see *Moslem World*, July, 1916, p. 309.
2. El-Beidāwī. Commentary on the Koran. Best edit. by Fleischer, Leipzig, 1846-48. There are also Oriental editions, some with super-commentary. A universally respected commentary in Arabic on the Koran, exegetical, theological, philological and historical. Valuable also in the study of Arabic.

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3. El-Bukhārī. *Les Traditions Islamiques*. Translated by O. Houdas and W. Marçais. Four vols. Paris, Leroux, 1903-14.
There is a European edition of the original *Ṣaḥīḥ* by Krehl and Juynboll and many Oriental editions, some with super-commentaries.
4. Fadl, Mirza abu-l. *The Quran: Arabic text and English translation*. Two vols. Allahabad, Ashgar, 1911.
A literal translation by a Moslem, done with care.
5. Fluegel, G. *Corani Textus Arabicus*. Pp. viii, 529. Leipzig, 1881.
This edition of the Koran in Arabic dates from 1834 but remains the standard edition for scholarly use. Often reprinted. The edition by Redslob should be avoided, since the verses are not numbered. The missionary will also require an Oriental edition for public use.
6. Al-Ghazzālī. *ad-Dourra al Fākhirā*. Arabic and French translation by L. Gautier. Pp. 200, Geneva, 1878.
An important work for the student of Moslem eschatology.
7. Al-Hanifi, Ali al-Marghinānī. *al Hedaya fil-furū'*. Translated by Charles Hamilton, 1870.
The standard digest in English of Hanafite canon law.
8. Ibn Hishām. Edit. by Wüstenfeld with indices. Also Cairo, A.H. 1295.
A standard life of the Prophet in Arabic based on ibn Ishāk (A.H. 151). It was translated into German by Gustav Weil in 1864, 2 vols., Stuttgart.
9. Hitti, P. K. *The Origins of the Islamic State* (Columbia University Studies). Vol. I. Pp. 578. New York, Longmans, 1916.
A good translation with notes of a part of al-Balādhuri's *Futūḥ al-Buldān*.
10. Hujwiri, 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Jullābī. *The Kashf al-Mahjūb*, the oldest Persian Treatise on Sūfīism. Pp. xxiv, 447. Translated by R. A. Nicholson. London, Luzac, 1911.
A very important treatise on mystical religion.
11. Jalālud Din, *The Mesnevī*, Book I. Translated by J. W. Redhouse. (Trübner's Oriental Series.) Pp. 290. London, Trübner, 1881.
The advantage in this translation of the first book of the *Mesnevi* is that there is prefixed a sort of Acts of the Apostles of the Mevlevi dervish fathers, translated from Turkish and giving a good picture of the beliefs and practices of the fraternity. There is another translation by Whinfield, London, 1898. The second book was translated by C. E. Wilson, London, 1910.
12. Mathews, A. N. *The Mishkāt ul Maṣābiḥ*. Calcutta, 1809.
The only English translation of this—or of any—extensive collection of Moslem traditions. A very rare and expensive book.
13. Palmer, E. H., translator. *The Qur'ān* (Sacred Books of the East, Vols. VI, IX). Two Vols. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1880. Also in one volume.
The best idiomatic, spirited, rhythmical version of the Koran, but disfigured by strange lapses of care. Has a rather poor historical introduction and a useful abstract of contents.
14. Patton, W. W. *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna*. Pp. 208. Leyden, Brill, 1897.
A valuable monograph bearing on the attempt of al-Ma'mūn to force the Mutazilite doctrine of the creation of the Koran on Islam and on the orthodox opposition of Ibn Ḥanbal.
15. Ragg, Lonsdale and Laura. *The Gospel of Barnabas*. Oxford. Clarendon Press, 1907. Italian text with English translation.
Inserted because of the use made of this gospel by Moslem apologists.
16. Rahmat-Ullah. *Idhhar (Izhār) ul-Haqq*. Translated from the Arabic into French by P. V. Carletti. Two Vols. Paris, Leroux, 1880.
A Moslem reply to Pfander's *Mizan-al-haqq*.

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17. Rodwell, J. M., translator. *The Koran* (Everyman's Library). Pp. 506. London, Dent.
✓ Valuable for indicating the chronological order of suras, thus showing in a broad way the sequence of ideas. The most readable Koran translation for a beginner, but to be used with caution.
18. Sale, G., translator. *The Koran*. Many editions. A good one in the *Chandos Classics*. London, Warne and Co.
A translation still valuable for its full commentary. It is based on Maracci and appeared first in 1734. All later translations have been affected by it.
19. El Zamakhshari. *Commentary on the Koran*. Two Vols. Cairo. Also an edition by Nassau Lees in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.
A Mutazilite commentary in Arabic on the Koran, basing the exegesis on close philological work with details of grammar. The basis of El Beidawi.

B. HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF ISLAM

20. Ali, Syed Ameer. *The Spirit of Islam*. Pp. lix, 440. Calcutta, Kegan Paul, 1902.
A clever though historically inaccurate survey of Mohammed's life and work and of the development of Islam by an English-educated Moslem, who inclines toward rationalism.
21. — *The History of the Saracens*. Pp. 368. London, Macmillan, 1899.
22. Arnold, T. W. *The Preaching of Islam*. Pp. xvi, 467. Second revised edit. London, Constable, 1913.
A brilliant book of great value but incorrect in its overemphasis of preaching as a method of promulgating Islam and in minimizing the extent of armed invasion as a factor contributing to the propagation of Islam.
23. Broomhall, M. *Islam in China*. Pp. 332. London, Morgan and Scott, 1910.
Discusses the history of Islam in the Chinese empire, the present Mohammedan population and the problems of their evangelization. Scientific, critical, based on thorough investigations, and reliable.
24. Caetani, Leone. *Annali dell' Islam*, Rome.
A critical reconstruction of the early history of Islam from the existing evidence. A monumental work for the use of specialists.
25. — *Chronographia Islamica*. London. Williams and Norgate, 1913.
An abridgment of the preceding.
26. *Cambridge Mediæval History*. Vol. II. London, Cambridge University Press, 1913.
Contains important articles on "Rise of the Saracens," and on the "Foundations of the Western Empire."
27. Caussin de Perceval, A. P. *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, etc. Three vols. Paris, Geuthner, 1902.
A reprint of the original edition of 1847. A mine of generally reliable information concerning the pre-Islamic Arab kingdoms and their union under Mohammed and Abu-Bekr.
28. Clouston, W. A. *Arabian Poetry*. Pp. lxxii, 472. Glasgow, 1881 (rare).
Contains a choice collection of Arabian poetry.
29. Creasy, Sir Edmund S. *History of the Ottoman Turks*. Pp. xvi, 558. New York, Holt, 1877.
30. Dozy, R. P. A. *Essai sur l'histoire de l'islamisme*. Translated from the Dutch by Victor Chauvin. Leyden, 1879.
A useful introduction.

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31. Eliot, Sir Charles, ("Odysseus"). Turkey in Europe. Second edit. Pp. 345. London, Arnold, 1908.
The first-hand observation of a diplomat regarding the Turkish empire in Europe. An admirable book.
32. Garnett, Lucy M. J. Turkey of the Ottomans. Pp. 304. London, Pitman and Sons, 1911.
A very general discussion of the Ottomans, their origin, spread and character.
33. Gibb, E. J. W. Ottoman Poems. Pp. lv, 272. London, Trübner, 1882.
A collection of the poetry of the Ottoman Turks.
34. — A History of Ottoman Poetry. Six vols. London, Luzac & Co., 1900-1909.
A monumental work.
35. Gibbons, H. A. The Foundations of the Ottoman Empire. Pp. 379. New York, The Century Co., 1916.
A clear, important historical study of the formative period of the Ottoman nation.
36. Gilman, Arthur. The Saracens. (Story of the Nations Series.) Pp. ii, 493. New York, Putnam, 1902.
A popular compilation on the history of the Saracens, bringing out their achievements in literature, art and science.
37. Grimme, H. Mohammed. Two vols. Pp. 164, 186. Münster, 1892-95.
Short but thorough and at first-hand.
38. el Halebī, 'Alī ibn Burhan-ud-din. Insān el 'Uyūn. Three vols. Cairo, 1908.
A popular life of the Prophet in Arabic, quoting much later tradition. Worth possessing.
39. Holland, E. The Story of Mohammed. Pp. 192. London, Harran & Co., 1914.
Brief, concise and clear account of the early struggles of Islam. A second-hand account which rather idealizes Mohammed.
40. Huart, Cl. Histoire des Arabes. Two vols. Pp. 380, 512. Paris, Geuthner, 1912-13.
A condensed account of the growth of Islam during thirteen centuries.
41. Hurgronje, C. Snouck. Mohammedanism: Its Origin, Religious and Political Growth and Present State. Pp. 184. New York, Putnam, 1916.
A very important summary of these four aspects of Islam by a leading western student of Islam. A sane book well worth careful reading.
42. Johnstone, P. de Lacy. Muhammad and His Power. Pp. xviii, 238. London, Clark, 1901.
An unpretentious but well-balanced little biography, useful as a first sketch.
43. Ibn Khallikan. Biographical Dictionary. Translated into English by MacGuckin de Slane. Four vols. Paris, 1842-71.
Highly important and very readable.
44. Kremer, Alfred von. Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen. Two vols. Wien, 1875-77.
Still of high value.
45. — Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams, Leipzig, 1868.
Still of value, although the ground is now better covered by Goldziher, "Moh. Studien" (No. 86).
46. Lammens, Henri. Le Berceau de l'Islam, Vol. I. Le Climat-Les Bédouins. Pp. xxiv, 372. Rome, 1914.
The first volume of an elaborate study of the environment out of which Islam arose. Most learned, suggestive and fresh.
47. — Fātima et les filles de Mahomet. Pp. viii, 170. Rome, 1912.
Father Lammens works in the spirit of Goldziher towards the criticism of the usually accepted life of Mohammed.

48. Lane-Poole, S. *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*. Pp. xvi, 382. London, Methuen, 1901.
This history ranges from the conquest by the Arabs to the Ottoman conquest. The best history for its period.
49. — *Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule*. (Story of Nations.) Pp. xviii, 449. New York, Putnam, 1914.
A very careful study of this period, of very great value.
50. — *The Mohammedan Dynasties*. Pp. xviii, 361. London, Constable & Co., 1894.
A skeleton manual of Islamic history. One of the first half-dozen indispensable books. Reliable but not absolutely comprehensive. Based on coins and therefore omits Central Africa and Malaysia.
51. — *The Speeches and Table-talk of the Prophet Mohammed* (Golden Treasury Series). Macmillan.
Very readable but uncritical on traditions.
52. — *The Story of Cairo*. Pp. 360. London, Dent, 1902. (Medieval Towns Series.)
An excellent history and description of Cairo which every missionary in Egypt may read with profit.
53. Lyall, Sir Charles J. *Ancient Arabian Poetry*. Pp. lii, 142. London, Williams & Norgate, 1885.
The standard collection of old Arab verse. Has a very valuable introduction, and is more reliable than Clouston.
54. Margoliouth, D. S. *Mohammed and the Rise of Islam*. (Heroes of Nations.) Pp. 481. New York, Putnam, 1905.
A life of Mohammed, based on Moslem sources, intended to be perfectly fair. It pictures Mohammed as a hero rather than as a prophet. Interesting and scholarly. It is reviewed at length and incisively in *Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1906.
55. Merrick, J. L. *The Life and Religion of Mohammed, as contained in the Sheeah traditions of the Hyat-ul-Kuloob*. Boston, Phillips, 1850 (rare).
56. Muir, W. *The Caliphate: Its Rise, Decline and Fall*. New edit. by T. H. Weir. Pp. 628. Edinburgh, John Grant, 1916.
57. — *The Life of Mahomet*. Four vols. 1861. Abridged ed. in one vol. Pp. 536, 1894. London, Smith, Elder & Co. New revised ed. by Weir. Pp. 556. Edinburgh, Grant, 1912.
These two works by Muir have set a standard for half a century. Their survey of early history now seems to be somewhat uncritical. The introduction to the latter is still quite valuable.
58. Müller, A. *Der Islam im Morgen-und Abendland* [Islam in East and West]. Two vols. Berlin, 1885-87.
The best general history of Islam extant, with maps and illustrations.
59. Nöldeke, Th. *Sketches from Eastern History*. Translated by J. S. Black. Pp. 288. London, Black, 1892.
Valuable studies of the Semites, the Koran, Islam, etc., by one of the greatest living students of Islam.
60. Sell, Rev. Canon E. *The Life of Muhammad*. Pp. 235. London and Madras, Christian Literature Society for India, 1913.
Based on original authorities, this volume echoes and answers the opinions of the modern school of Moslem apologists in India.
61. — *The Islam Series*. London and Madras, Christian Literature Society for India.
The Four Rightly-Guided Khalifas. Pp. 59. 1909.
The Ottoman Turks. Pp. 130. 1914.
The Umayyad and the 'Abbasid Khalifates. Pp. vii, 108. 1914.
Muslim Conquests in North Africa. Pp. 82. 1914.
Muslim Conquests in Spain. Pp. 100. 1914.
Mamluks in Egypt. Pp. 56. 1914.
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Inexpensive pamphlets of varying but real value.

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62. Sprenger, A. *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed* (Life and Teachings of Mohammed). Pp. xxiv, 583, 548, clxxx, 599. Berlin, 1869.
An exhaustive and, for its time, authoritative discussion.
63. Sykes, Percy M. *History of Persia*. Two vols. Pp. 544, 565. New York, Macmillan, 1915.
The best modern account of the history of Persia.
64. de Tassy, Garcin. *De la Religion Musalmane dans l'Inde*. Pp. 108. Paris, 1869.
65. Weil, G. *Geschichte der islamitischen Völker* [History of Moslem Peoples]. Pp. 504. Stuttgart, 1866.
A sketch of the political and cultural history of the principal Moslem nations from Mohammed's time to the sixteenth century.
66. — *Mohammed der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre*. Stuttgart, 1843.
The first critical life of the Prophet.
67. — *Geschichte der Chalifen*. Three vols. Mannheim, 1846-51.
Based on original sources throughout. Very full. Extends to the capture of Bagdad, A.D. 1258.
68. Wellhausen, J. *Reste arabischen Heidenthums* [Remains of Arabian Heathenism]. Pp. viii, 250. Second edit. Berlin, 1897.
Critical essays on the Hajj, the ancient Arab cultus and the origin and literature of Islam.
69. Wherry, E. M. *Islam and Christianity in India and the Far East*. Pp. 237. New York, Revell, 1907.
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70. Zwemer, S. M. *Arabia the Cradle of Islam*. Second edit. rev. Pp. 437. New York, Revell, 1900.
Studies in the geography, peoples and politics of the Peninsula.

C. THE CONTENT OF ISLAM

71. Ali, Syed Ameer. *Islam* (Religious, Ancient and Modern). Pp. 78. London, Constable, 1914.
Digest of the content of Islam by an Indian Moslem who sees it through rose-colored glasses.
72. Arminjon, P. *L'Enseignement, la doctrine et la vie dans les Universités Musulmanes d'Egypte*. Pp. 294. Paris, 1907.
The life and methods of the Azhar, etc.
73. Baillie, N. B. E. *Digest of Muhammedan Law*. Hanifi Code, 1865; Imameea Code, 1869.
74. Blunt, W. S. *The Future of Islam*. Pp. 215. London, Kegan Paul, 1882.
75. de Boer, T. J. *The History of Philosophy in Islam*. Translated by E. R. Jones. Pp. xiii, 216. London, Luzac, 1903.
Parallels Macdonald's "Muslim Theology" on the philosophical side. A good handbook.
76. Bosworth-Smith. *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*. Third edit. Pp. 312. London, Murray, 1889.
One of the first British studies of Islam which aimed to be sympathetic in its treatment.
77. Doutté, E. *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*. Pp. 618. Alger, 1909.
By far the most important book on magic and superstition in Islam.

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78. Fahmy, Mansour. *La Condition de la Femme dans la Tradition et l'évolution de l'Islamisme*. Paris, Librairie Félix Alcan, 1913.
A thorough critical study of the position of woman in Islam.
79. Field, C. *Mystics and Saints of Islam*. Pp. 215. London, Griffith, 1910.
A sketch of fifteen Moslem saints and mystics from 728 A.D. to 1661 A.D. Very interesting and illuminating. He traces Sufism back to Mohammed and the Koran.
80. Gairdner, W. H. T. *The Muslim Idea of God (Islam Series)*. Pp. 69. London, Christian Literature Society for India.
81. Garcin de Tassy. *L'Islamisme*. Third edit. Paris, 1874.
A very useful book.
82. Gardner, W. R. W. *The Quranic Doctrine of God*. Pp. 72. *The Quranic Doctrine of Salvation*. Pp. 59. *The Quranic Doctrine of Sin*. Pp. 43. (The Islam Series.) London and Madras, Christian Literature Society, 1914.
All very careful, first-hand investigations.
83. Geiger, A. *Judaism and Islam*. Translated by Lady Mackworth Young. Pp. 170. London, Simpkins, 1898.
Originally written in 1833, but still of value because based on original documents. Aims at showing to what extent and why Mohammed borrowed from Judaism. There is an important review in Fleischer's "Kleinere Schriften," Vol. II, p. 10 ff.
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A study of Islam in India during the last century by one of the most distinguished and scholarly of the members of the British Civil Service in India. A student of the subject should not overlook the criticisms of Dr. Hunter's work by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan in 1871 and "Indian Musulmans," by W. N. Lees, 1872.
220. Jenkins, Hester D. *Behind Turkish Lattices*. Pp. 180. Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1911.
An analysis of the life of Turkish women of the city.
221. Jessup, H. H. *The Women of the Arabs*. New York, 1874.
222. Lane, E. W. *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*. London, 1836 and ever since.
An indispensable book for every missionary to Islam. An excellent cheap edition with all the original illustrations is in the Everyman Series.
223. Loti, Pierre. *Disenchanted*. London, Nelson.
A story which sets forth the romance of the modern East.
224. Malcolm, Sir John. *Sketches of Persia*. Many edit. An inexpensive one in Cassell's National Library.
225. Abdullah Mansur. *The Land of Uz*. Pp. 354. New York, Macmillan, 1911.
A valuable account of travels in Southern Arabia.
226. Morier, James. *The Adventures of Haji Baba of Ispahan*. (Everyman Series.) Pp. 399. New York, Dutton.
A truthful word picture of Persian life in all its aspects, including the ways and ideas of a Mohammedan imam. First published in 1823, but still instructive.
227. Palgrave, W. G. *Narrative of a Year's Journey Through Central and Eastern Arabia*. Second edit. Two vols. London, Macmillan, 1865.
Very vivid and real. It contains much that is true and much that is false, so that it may mislead. The descriptions of central Arabia are the best.
228. Palmer, E. H. *The Desert of the Exodus*. Cambridge, Bell, 1871.
A journey on foot full of contact with the Bedawin.
229. Pears, Sir Edwin. *Turkey and its People*. Pp. 409. London, Methuen, 1911.
An account of the various peoples in Turkey, discussing possible reforms and describing the various churches under Turkish sway.
230. Perron. *Femmes arabes avant et depuis l'Islamisme*. Paris, 1858.
The only comprehensive book on the subject.
231. Poole, Sophia. *An Englishwoman in Egypt*. Two vols. Pp. 232, 240. London, Knight, 1845.
Contains some good Egyptian ghost stories.
232. Prowse, C. *The Lure of Islam*. Pp. 225. London, Sampson, 1914.
A realistic novel which throws vivid light on the methods of propagating Islam.

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233. Ralli, Augustus. *Christians at Mecca*. Pp. 278. London, Heinemann, 1910.
Gives the narratives of as many as twenty attempts between 1503 and 1894 to visit the holy city of Islam.
234. Ruchdi Pacha, Madame H. *Harems et Musulmanes d'Egypte*. Paris, Juven, 1902.
An admirable study of Egyptian life, especially of female and slave life.
235. — *Les Repudiées*. Pp. 288. Paris, 1908.
A story of Egyptian female and family life.
236. Schauffler, Rachel C. *The Goodly Fellowship*. Pp. 325. New York, Macmillan, 1912.
Written by a missionary's daughter and based on her brother-in-law's martyrdom. Persia furnishes the background.
237. Small, A. H. *Suwartas and Other Sketches of Indian Life*.
An excellent sketch of women's work among Mohammedan women.
238. St. John, Bayle. *Two Years' Residence in a Levantine Family*. London, Chapman and Hall, 1850.
Native Christian life in Alexandria in the middle of the last century. A very suggestive sketch.
239. Taylor, Meadows. *Confessions of a Thug*. Pp. 552. Oxford, 1916.
(World's Classics.)
First published in 1839. Important for Indian Islam.
240. Vaka, Demitra. *Haramlik or Some Pages from the Life of Turkish Women*. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1909.
241. — *Child of the Orient*. Pp. 298. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1914.
An imaginative but very instructive Oriental tale. It may also mislead the reader.
242. Van Sommer, A., and Zwemer, S. M., editors. *Our Moslem Sisters, A Cry of Need*. Second edit. Pp. 299. New York, Revell, 1907.
A vivid, attractive set of sketches of the life of Moslem women. The gist of a series of papers presented at the Cairo Conference of 1906.
243. — *Daylight in the Harem. A New Era for Moslem Women*. Pp. 224. New York, Revell, 1911.
A volume of the papers relating to work among Moslem women presented to the Lucknow Conference of 1911.
244. Watson, C. R. *In the Valley of the Nile*. Pp. 249. New York, Revell, 1908.
245. Wherry, E. M. *Zeinab the Panjabi*. Pp. 80. New York, American Tract Society, 1895.
A story showing how the gospel affected a Mohammedan widow.
246. Zwemer, S. M. *Childhood in the Moslem World*. Pp. 274. New York, Revell, 1915.
A study of the environment of childhood in Islam, showing the lack of religious and moral education.

H. REFERENCE WORKS

247. Brockelmann, Karl. *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. Two vols. Pp. 528, 714. Weimar, Felber, 1898-1902.
Not a history, but a collection of bibliographical and biographical materials. The most generally used reference book on Arabic literature. Indispensable for all who can read German.
248. Dozy, R. *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*. Two vols. Leyden, 1881.
Contains many words and phrases not found in other lexicons.
249. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. 11th edit. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1910.
The 9th edition still retains its value for its oriental articles, notably those by Wellhausen and Nöldeke on Mohammed, the Koran and on Arabic subjects generally. They are often fuller than those in the 11th edition.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ISLAM

250. *The Encyclopedia of Islam: A Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography, and Biography of the Mohammedan Peoples.* Edited by Dr. M. Th. Houtsma, T. W. Arnold, Dr. Seligsohn and A. Schaade. Four vols. in 60 parts. London, Luzac & Co., 1915.
Authoritative, scholarly articles, with excellent bibliographies. Quite exhaustive and very valuable. Only twenty-two parts have appeared to the date of 1916.
251. *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.* Edited by Hastings. New York, Scribner, 1908.
The standard reference work representing up-to-date opinion. Very valuable to a student of religion and should be in every general mission library.
252. Field, Claud. *A Dictionary of Oriental Quotations (Arabic and Persian).* London, Sonnenschein.
A good collection of well-chosen quotations from leading Arabic authors, given in the original, transliterated and translated.
253. Fluegel, G. *Concordantiæ Corani Arabicæ.* Leipzig, 1842 and after.
The standard Koran concordance.
254. Hava, J. G. *Arabic-English Dictionary.* Pp. 909. Beirut, Catholic Press, 1899.
Uses small type. Less well arranged than Salmone, but useful.
255. Huart, Cl. *A History of Arabic Literature.* Pp. 478. London, Heinemann, 1903.
A compact, reliable history by a French Orientalist of distinction.
256. Hughes, T. P. *Dictionary of Islam.* London, W. H. Allen & Co., 1885.
A valuable book, obtainable in an anastatic reprint, written rather largely from the standpoint of India, but helpful to one who approaches Islam from the missionary standpoint. An encyclopedia of the doctrines, rites, ceremonials and customs, as well as of the technical terms of religion. Very useful as a key to the Koran.
257. Le Strange, Guy. *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, Mesopotamia, Persia and Central Asia from the Muslim Conquest to the Time of Timur.* Pp. 554. Cambridge, 1905. (Cambridge Geographical Series.)
Descriptive, historical and economic geography, with maps, a valuable index, and full references to native geographies. An original book.
258. — *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate from contemporary Arabic and Persian Sources.* Pp. 411. Oxford, University Press, 1900.
Descriptive and historical topography.
259. Nicholson, R. A. *A Literary History of the Arabs.* Pp. xxxi, 500. New York, Scribner, 1907.
A very valuable compendium and conspectus of the literature.
260. Nöldeke, Th. *Geschichte des Qorans.* Göttingen, Dieterich, 1860. Second edit., Part First, revised by Schwally. Pp. xlii, 261. Leipzig, 1909.
The standard help for the critical study of the text of the Koran. The original edition is still very valuable.
261. Penrice, J. *A Dictionary and Glossary of the Koran.* London, 1873.
An excellent special lexicon of the Koran.
262. Saladin, H., and Migeon, G. *Manuel d'Art Musulman.* Two vols. Paris, 1907.
263. Salmone, H. A. *An Arabic-English Dictionary.* Pp. 1252. London, Trübner, 1890.
Beautifully printed and clearly arranged. Becomes fuller after the first few letters.
264. Wherry, E. M. *A Comprehensive Commentary on the Qur'an.* Four vols. Pp. 391, 466, 414, 340. London, Kegan Paul, 1882-86.
Best available commentary in English, based on Sale's translation, expanded from Indian and other authorities.

Der Islam. A Quarterly. Strassburg, Trübner.
The Moslem World. A Quarterly edited by Dr. Zwemer. London, C.L.S.I.
Revue du Monde Musulman. A Monthly. Paris, Leroux.
The specialty of *Der Islam* is scholarship and past history; of *The Moslem World* is missions, and of the *Revue* is sociology, contemporary history and politics. All are excellent.

XV. SUGGESTED READING COURSES FOR THOSE CONTEMPLATING MISSIONARY WORK AMONG MOSLEMS

The preceding report is intended to be of service to the missionary candidate, to the junior missionary and even to the missionary of considerable experience. Its bibliography has, consequently, been given a wide range, including not a few books which are far from easy to obtain, in order, on the one hand, to encourage missionary research, and, on the other, to be sure of including the books about which a varied number of students need to know. To prevent the bibliography from bewildering the inexperienced student and to guide the reading of those who are in various stages of preparation and who have varying needs, the following suggestions are made:

1. *For the Reading of a Student in College or Undergraduate Training School.*—The books mentioned below are untechnical but excellent in quality. They will serve to give a beginner some idea of Islam.

(a) *A Bird's Eye View.*—One of the very best books for a first impression of Islam is Takle's "Religion of the Crescent" (166). It is published in Calcutta, but may be secured through the Association Press. Zwemer's "Islam" (181) is another useful introduction.

(b) *The History of Islam.*—Muir's "Life of Mahomet," one volume edition, is useful. It needs to be corrected by Hurgronje, "Mohammedanism" (41), which is hard reading but accurate.

(c) *The Atmosphere of Islam.*—The "Thousand and One Nights" (92), furnishes a library of suggestions. A capital story is Morier's "Haji Baba of Ispahan" (226). Lane's "Manners and Customs" (222) or Burton's "Pilgrimage" (208) are classics. Lady Duff-Gordon's "Letters" (211, 212) and Demitra Vaka's harem stories (240, 241) are full of interest, although the latter are not reliable.

(d) *Conditions of Missionary Life.*—Barton, "Daybreak in Turkey" (139) or Zwemer, "Cradle of Islam" (70) gives an illuminating portrayal of the environment of a missionary.

SUGGESTED READING COURSES

(e) *Missionary Biography*.—Hamlin, "Life and Times" (188). Dwight, "A Muslim Sir Galahad" (186), Pennell's "Wild Tribes" (195), Speer's "Hakim Sahib" (200) and Zwemer's "Lull" (202) are entertaining, varied and highly instructive.

2. *For the General Reading of the Graduate or Professional Student*.—This list and those following represent books of a more advanced character. It may be taken for granted that books in French or German mentioned in the bibliography are among the best of their kind.

(a) *The History of Islam*.—Ali's "Spirit of Islam" (20) and Arnold's "Preaching of Islam" (22) should be read together. Gilman's "Saracens" (36) and Lane-Poole's "Dynasties" (50) merit careful attention. Margoliouth's "Mohammed" (54) and Müller's "Der Islam" (58) are very dependable. Ali's "History of the Saracens" is excellent (21).

(b) *Arabic Literature*.—A good and reliable general history is Nicholson's "Literary History" (259).

(c) *Poetry*.—The best collection of the poetry of the Arabs is that by Lyall, "Ancient Arabian Poetry" (53). A valuable collection of more modern verse is that by Gibb, "Ottoman Poems" (33).

(d) *Religious Sects*.—Nicholson's "Mystics" (125) is a strong study of Sufism. Sell's "Essays" (129), his "Religious Orders" (130) and the cult monographs (131) are very valuable and suggestive. Walter's "Ahmadiya Movement" (134) discusses fully a very important modern movement.

(e) *Modern Movements in Islam*.—Browne, "A Year" (113) for Babism, Farquhar, "Modern Movements" (119), Wilson, "Modern Movements" (137) and Zwemer, "Disintegration" (138) will, with Walter (134), already mentioned, and numbers 117 and 118 give an admirable conspectus of these movements.

(f) *Christian Missions*.—The best book to serve as an introduction is Macdonald's "Aspects of Islam" (94). Greene's "Leavening the Levant" (148) and Jessup's "Fifty-three Years" (191) cover a half-century of marvelous changes. For a general history see Richter's "Protestant Missions" (160). For the world situation in regard to Islam in 1906, see No. 178. For a particularly puzzling problem see Simon's "Progress and Arrest" (163).

(g) *Social and Economic Problems*.—Dwight, "Constantinople" (213), Van Sommer, "Daylight in the Harem" (243) and Zwemer,

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"Childhood in the Moslem World" (246); each throw a flood of light upon social conditions. Hurgronje's "Mekka" (218) is a very thorough study of conditions and problems.

(3) *For Reading During the Period of Specialization*.—There is little real difference between the books mentioned above and those in this list. A genuinely advanced student will be putting in much of his time on original sources in Arabic, Persian, etc.

(a) *The Comparison of Islam with Christianity*.—Becker's "Christianity and Islam" (140) is well worthy careful study, likewise Herrick, "Christian and Mohammedan" (151). Muir, "The Apology of Al Kindy" (156) will be helpful, while Rice, "Crusaders" (159) and Tisdall's "Manual" (168) seem indispensable.

(b) *The Problems of Islam*.—Hurgronje's "Mohammedanism" (41) deserves very careful reading. Blunt, "Future of Islam" (74), Geiger, "Judaism and Islam" (83), Goldziher, "Mohammedanische Studien" (86) and Macdonald, "Religious Attitude and Life" (96) are other indispensable books.

(c) *Islam in Various Countries*.—Broomhall, "Islam in China" (23), Wherry, "Islam in India" (69), Zwemer, "Arabia the Cradle" (70), Simon, "Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra" (163), and Hunter, "The Indian Musalmans" (219), together with the monographs in the Islam Series (61), are thoughtful studies.

(d) *Moslem Theology*.—The absolutely basal book for the thoughtful student of Islam is Goldziher's "Vorlesungen" (85). A translation of this was prepared for the Yale University Press in 1917, under the title of "Mohammed and Islam," but was withdrawn because of defects. It may be looked for, quite probably, in 1918. The best book in English is Macdonald's "Development of Muslim Theology" (95). There is a French translation of Goldziher's book.

XVI. SELECTED REFERENCES TO PARAGRAPHS

The following references are intended to be of service to the student who desires to study intensively any of the numbered sections of the report. The figures and titles indicate the sections referred to. They are not exhaustive. They aim as a rule to direct the student who is attempting to under-

stand Islam to the literature most immediately available. This literature will in turn serve to lead the way to a more intensive study.

I. (1.) *The Environment of Islam*.—Note the bibliographical references in Nöldeke's article on the "Ancient Arabs" in the Hastings "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics" (251).

I. (2.) *The Character and Experience of Mohammed*.—Muir's "Life" (57) is valuable as a basis, but must be used guardedly and in the light of recent criticism of the traditions. The first lecture in Hurgronje's "Mohammedanism" (41) discusses the unraveling of tradition, while Macdonald's "Aspects of Islam" (94) discusses the person of Mohammed. All biographies of the Prophet may be consulted. Section B of the Bibliography mentions nine of them.

I. (3.) *The New Faith*.—See Margoliouth's "Mohammedanism" (98) and Macdonald's "Development" (95).

II. *The Spread and Extent of Islam*.—The standard history is Müller's "Der Islam, etc." (58). It covers the subject thoroughly. Muir's "Caliphate" (56) is of value. The various histories referred to under section B of the Bibliography are helpful.

II. (1.) *The Three Missionary Periods*.—Arnold's "The Preaching of Islam" (22) and Zwemer's "Islam" (181) discuss these periods.

II. (2.) *The Explanation*.—In contrast with "Preaching" (22) Amir Ali's "History of the Saracens" (21) gives a Mohammedan explanation of Islam's development.

II. (4.) *Geographical Extension*.—The various histories and such monographs as Broomhall's "Islam in China" (23) will be helpful.

II. (5.) *Racial Types*.—Simon's "Progress and Arrest" (163) is a helpful monograph regarding one field. Noteworthy articles relating to Northern Asia and Africa will be found in the volumes of *The Moslem World*.

II. (7.) *The Political Situation*.—Eliot's ("Odysseus"), "Turkey in Europe" (31) and Zwemer's "Disintegration" (138) are useful studies.

III. *The Development of Islam*.—The encyclopedias, notably the "Encyclopedia of Islam" (250), have valuable articles. In the last-mentioned encyclopedia look under each technical term in Arabic.

III. (1.) *The Individual*.—See the chapter on Education in Macdonald's "Aspects" (94) with its references. The best possible book to read is "The Thousand and One Nights" with Lane's notes (92) *passim*.

III. (2.) *The Family*.—Fahmy's "La Condition" (78), Perron's "Femmes arabes" (230), "Haji Baba" (226), the books by Madame Ruchdi Pacha (234, 235), Zwemer's "Childhood" (246) and all the books written by women, who were able to get below the surface of Mohammedan society.

III. (4.) *The Government*.—Gibbon's "Foundations of the Ottoman Empire" (35) discusses at second hand, but ably, one phase of this subject.

III. (5.) *Constitutional Development*.—Macdonald's "Development" (95), and Hurgronje's "Mohammedanism" (41), take this up most helpfully.

IV. (1.) *Allah*.—Zwemer's "Doctrine of God" (110), Gardner's "Quranic Doctrine of God" (82), Gairdner's articles scattered through *The Moslem World*, his "Muslim Idea of God" (80) and Macdonald's articles on "Allah" in the "Encyclopedia of Islam" (250), and in the "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics" (251).

IV. (2.) *Created Beings*.—Read "The Thousand and One Nights" (92), *passim*. Herklots' "Qanoon" (88) has much regarding magic and *jinn*. Macdonald's "Religious Attitude" (96), lectures 1-5, with the references, covers the subject broadly.

IV. (3.) *Nature of Mankind*.—Gardner's "Doctrine of Sin" (82) is helpful.

IV. (4.) *Salvation*.—Gardner's "Quranic Doctrine of Salvation" (82).

IV. (6.) *Sacred Books*.—The various Histories of the Koran and the Introductions will be valuable. Nöldeke's "Sketches" (59) and Macdonald's "Attitude" (96), especially the chapter on Sacred Books, are directly useful.

IV. (8.) *Day of Judgment*.—Gautier's translation in French of al-Ghazzālī (6) affords a fine description of the Day of Judgment.

V. *Religious Practices*.—Lane's "Modern Egyptians" (222), Sell's "Faith of Islam" (104) and the article "Worship" in Hughes' "Dictionary of Islam" are very illuminating.

SELECTED REFERENCES TO PARAGRAPHS

V. (1.) *Faith*.—Klein's "Religion of Islam" (90) is a good general book to read. See also articles in the "Encyclopedia of Islam" (250) on *īmān* and *iqrār* (not yet appeared).

V. (2.) *Worship*.—Lane's "Modern Egyptians" (222) is full of suggestion. Hurgronje's "Mekka" (218) is good. Hughes' "Dictionary of Islam" (256) may be consulted under the various rubrics.

V. (3.) *Fasting*.—See Lane's "Modern Egyptians" (222) for vivid illustrations of the methods of fasting.

V. (5.) *Pilgrimage*.—Burckhardt's "Travels in Arabia" (206) and Burton's "Personal Narrative" (208) are classics on the subject. Hurgronje's "Mekka" (218) is more recent. Ralli's "Christians at Mecca" (233) should also be noted.

V. (6.) *Jihad*.—Arnold's "Preaching" (22) and Hurgronje's "Mohammedanism" (41) have opposing views of its value. Note the "Encyclopedia of Islam" (250) under "*Djihad*."

VI. (1.) *Canon Law*.—Macdonald's "Development" (95) and Hurgronje's "Mohammedanism" (41) discuss this subject fully. The "Encyclopedia of Islam" (250) has valuable articles on the various technical themes.

VI. (2.) (a.) *Free Will*.—The references given under VI (1) are adequate.

VI. (2.) (b.) *Allah and His Qualities*.—The references given under IV (1) apply here also.

VI. (2.) (c.) *Doctrine of the Koran*.—The student may consult the various "Introductions" to the Koran. Sell's "Historical Development" (105) and Nöldeke's "Geschichte" (260) are valuable.

VI. (2.) (d.) *Anthropomorphisms*.—One who wishes to go into this subject should read Goldziher's "Die Zahiriten."

VII. (1.) *Shiites*.—Morier's "Haji Baba" (226) throws much light upon the relations of Shiites and Sunnites. Goldziher (85) is a mine of exact information. Merrick's rare book (55) is of much value. Sykes' "Glory of the Shia World" (133) is the best, readily available, recent book.

VII. (2.) *Mysticism*.—Nicholson's "Mystics of Islam" (125) Garnett's "Mysticism and Magic" (121), Macdonald's "Religious Atti-

tude" (96), as well as Chapter 11 of Simon's "Progress and Arrest" (163), are excellent books, all available.

VII. (3.) *Wahhabism*.—Burckhardt's "Notes" (207) and Palgrave's "Narrative" (227) are the best available sources of information. See also the encyclopedias.

VII. (4.) *Babism*.—Notice the footnote on page 67.

VII. (5.) *Ahmadiya*.—Walter's book with its references (134) is reasonably exhaustive on this subject.

VII. (6.) *Neo-Mutazilites*.—Amir Ali is their spokesman. Notice his various books (20, 21, 71).

VIII. *Moslem Types*.—Study "Vital Forces" (172).

IX. *What Christianity May Add*.—This is a subject for meditation rather than reading. Simon's "Progress and Arrest" (163), in Part III, approaches the problem from this angle.

IX. (8.) *Womanhood*.—Note the various volumes written by women about women in Islam (211, 231, 234, 235, 240), also the two Conference reports (242, 243), and such works as Perron's "Femmes arabes" (230), or Jessup's "Women of the Arabs" (221).

X. (9.) *Childhood*.—See Zwemer's "Childhood" (246) with its references.

XVII. LIBRARY HINTS FOR THE MISSIONARY SCHOLAR WHO USES ARABIC

Just as a knowledge of Sanskrit is of great value to the missionary of scholarly tastes who seeks to become a real interpreter of religion to the Hindu mind, so a good knowledge of Arabic is of value to the thorough student of Islam. The following represents the sort of information which such a student is glad to have at his command. It has been contributed to this report by Professor Duncan B. Macdonald, D.D. of the Hartford Theological Seminary.

The student who uses Arabic should have, for his study of the Koran, besides his ordinary dictionary and grammar, a native commentary (Baiḍāwī by preference), Flügel's concordance, ar-Rāghib

al-Iṣḥāhānī's "Dictionary of the Koran," called *Al-Mufradāt fī gharīb al-Qur'ān* (there is a good vocalized ed., Cairo, A. H., 1324) and Palmer's translation. Other good commentaries are the *Kashshāf* of Zamakhsharī, which is the basis of Baiḍāwī, the *Tafsīr* of Rāzī and the *Tafsīr* of Ṭabarī. Zamakhsharī was a Mutazilite and a great grammarian. Rāzī was a theologian and his book is a topical treatment of theology; Ṭabarī's commentary is a compilation of exegetical traditions.

For his study of Moslem literature, civilization, history and theology certain works are of prime importance. One would mention as a storehouse of folk-lore, tradition, popular medicine, lexicography, legends, racial psychology and law, al-Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, which professes to be a zoological lexicon. An English translation by Col. A. S. G. Jayakar (London, Luzac, 1906), covering so far about three-quarters of the whole work, makes the original generally accessible. Both the text and the translation should be in every good Arabic library. There are several Oriental editions. Jayakar's translation is generally excellent, but needs to be compared with the original, the details and flavor of which it occasionally misses.

Another work of much value is Ibn Khaldūn's history, *Kitāb al-'Ibār* (Book of Examples), the most truly scientific book in the Arabic language, covering all phases of Moslem civilization and intended by the author to be a history of the world. Its preface, the *Muqaddima*, was translated in 1862-68 into French, with the title "Les Prolégomènes d' Ibn Khaldoun" (3 vols., Paris, Imprimerie Impériale). This translation and the original text should be in every Arabic library. There is a very complete Paris edition of the text and several Oriental editions. Of the latter the Egyptian editions are to be preferred to those of Beirut.

The student should have accessible, also, to be used along with Juynboll's "Handbuch" (No. 89), such a textbook of canon law as Ibrāhīm al-Baijūrī's *Hāshiya* (detailed comment) on the *Sharḥ* (running commentary) of Ibn Qāsim on the *Matn* (fundamental text) of Abū Shujā'. There are several Cairo editions, and there is an analysis in Macdonald's "Development," pp. 351-357.

He should read as much as possible of the *Ihyā 'ulūm ad-dīn* by al-Ghazzālī. There are many Oriental editions, one in ten volumes with a very full commentary, *Ithāf as-sāda*, by the Sayyid Murtaḍā.

He should read also in the "Stories of the Prophets" (*Qisas al-anbiyā*) by ath-Tha'labī, of which there are many Oriental editions.

It is a history of revelation in biographical form and a historical commentary on the Koran.

Illuminating Muslim creeds are the "Articles of Belief" (*'Aqā'id*) of an-Nasafī, of which there is a trustworthy edition with several commentaries, especially one by at-Taftāzānī, Cairo, A.H., 1321, and the "Sufficiency" (*Kifāya*) of al-Faḍālī, of which there are several Cairo editions with the commentary of al-Baijūrī.

Ability to quote a few lines from the *Mu'allaqāt*, Arab poems of the pre-Islamic period, will be of the first value toward giving a missionary standing as a man of education and literary refinement. There are many editions, some with commentaries.

A good short history is the *Fakhrī* of Ibn at-Tiḡtaqā, edited by Ahlwardt, Gotha, 1860; by Derenbourg, Paris, 1895, and at Cairo, A.H., 1317, which extends to the fall of Bagdad. There is a French translation by E. Amar, Paris, 1910. Another is the Arabic text of which No. 9 is a translation, ed. by de Goeje, Leyden, 1866, and at Cairo, A. H., 1319.

There are several good and cheap Oriental eds. of the Arabic text of No. 43, Ibn Khallikān's "Biographical Dictionary" (*Wafayāt al-'Ayan*).

A good manual of the constitution of the Muslim state is the *Ahkām as-sultāniya* by al-Māwardī, ed. by Enger, Bonn, 1853, and at Cairo, A.H., 1298. There is a partial translation by Léon Ostrorog, "Traité de droit public musulman," Paris, 1901.

For the life of Mohammed the fundamental text is Ibn Hishām (No. 8). With it should be taken the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī (No. 3) and whatever other collections of traditions may be accessible. With these should be used anything by Goldziher and Lammens.

The standard European Arabic grammar is that of William Wright, 3rd ed. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1896, 1898. Pp. xiv, 318, xx, 450. A still fuller treatment of grammar can be had by combining De Sacy's *Grammaire arabe*, 2nd ed. 2 vols. Paris, 1831. Pp. xx, 608, xii, 698, with Fleischer's elaborate commentary on the same in his *Kleinere Schriften*, vol. i, pp. 1-844. Oriental grammars are multitudinous. The admirable little *Ajurrūmiya* is a good introduction to their method and the two most useful larger books are probably the *Alfiya* of Ibn Mālik with the commentary of Ibn 'Aqīl (ed. Dieterici, Leipzig, 1850, and very often in the East), and the *Mufaṣṣal* of Zamakhsharī (2nd ed. Broch, Christiania, 1879, and in the East).

In lexicons there are two single-volume books which can be recommended: Salmoné (No. 263) and Hava (No. 254).

Beyond these handy volumes the only recourse is to the great but unfinished work of E. W. Lane in 8 vols. (London, Williams and Norgate). The gaps in Lane can be filled to a certain extent from H. Dozy's "Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes" (2 vols., Leyden, E. J. Brill), an invaluable work, especially for mediæval Arabic, but very rare and very dear. Every statement in Freytag ("Lexicon Arabico-Latinum," 4 vols.) must be verified. Of the native lexicons, the *Qāmūs* and the *Ṣaḥāḥ* have now been pushed aside by the *Lisān al-ʿarab* (in 20 parts; binds in 5 thick vols.) and by the *Tāj al-ʿarūs* (10 vols.), a commentary on the *Qāmūs* and the foundation of Lane's "Lexicon." There are several others, but Arabic is still incompletely booked in them and also words and meanings may be found in some of the smaller of them that have not been taken up into the larger. Of modern compilations the *Muḥīt al-Muḥīt* of Buṭrus al-Bustānī (2 vols., Beirut, 1867-1870) is still useful for the width of its vocabulary, classical, mediæval and modern.

A dictionary of a different kind but of the greatest use to the serious student is the "Dictionary of Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musalmans," edited by Sprenger and Lees in the "Bibliotheca Indica" (2 vols., together pp. 72, 1564, Calcutta, 1862). It is a modern compilation in Arabic with additions in Persian and is the best single key which we have to the scholastic sciences of Islam. The *Kitāb at-taʾrīfāt* (Book of Definitions) by Jurjānī (many eds.) is small but good.

XVIII. LIBRARY HINTS FOR THE MISSIONARY SCHOLAR WHO USES PERSIAN

The missionary to Persian speaking peoples requires research tools of his own. The following statement has been prepared by Professor M. H. Ananikian of the Kennedy School of Missions.

1. *Dictionaries*.—The student who is beginning to use Persian will find Palmer's concise Persian Dictionary (London, 1876) indispensable. Bergé's "Dictionnaire Persan-Français" (Leipzig, 1869) is helpful. Each work is limited in scope. The older scholar will use

Steingass's recension of the old Johnson-Richardson lexicon, a comprehensive work but far from perfect. Vuller's "Lexicon Persico-Latinum" quotes copiously from native and European authorities. Wollaston's "English-Persian Dictionary" (London, 1889) is reliable. Much difficulty arises from the presence in Persian of many words derived from Turkish or Persian dialects and of Arabic words used in Persian in a more or less modified sense. Redhouse's "Turkish-English Lexicon" (London, 1890) often becomes a convenient guide to the solution of such problems. Among the many Persian lexicons the *Burhāni-qāṭi'*, the *Bahārī-i-'Ajamī* and the *Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī* may be mentioned with approval.

2. *Grammars*.—For Westerners the classical grammar is still Lumsden's two clumsy volumes. There is an excellent grammar by J. T. Platts in two volumes, or in a one volume edition by Rankin (Oxford University Press). Mirza Mohammed Ibrahim's "Grammar of the Living Persian Language" (also in an improved German edition by Fleischer) and Salemann and Shukovski's "Persische Grammatik" in the *Porta Linguarum Orientalium* series deserve mention. For the study of modern (conversational, official, journalistic) Persian, not excluding the classical language, the student is largely dependent on St. Clair Tisdall's "Modern Persian Conversation-Grammar" (Heidelberg, 1902). The native grammarians, of which the *Ferheng i Reshīdī* (ed. by Splieth, Halle, 1846) is one of the best known, are more interesting than useful to the ordinary student.

3. *History of Literature*.—The *Britannica* gives an excellent general survey by Hermann Ethé (see under "Persia," 9th and 11th editions) and a large number of articles on the important poets under their names. Further in the "Litteraturen des Ostens" series (vol. 8) Paul Horn offers a short sketch of the development of Persian literature. The best works of some extent on the subject are Hermann Ethé's "Neupersische Litteratur" in Geiger-Kuhn's "Iranische Philologie" and E. G. Brown's very interesting "Literary History of Persia." The latter, of which only two volumes have appeared (covering to the 14th century), is really an intellectual history of Persia. The student, after acquiring a sound knowledge of the grammatical forms of Persian and Arabic, should proceed to the analytical study of Sa'di's "Gulistān." Platts' edition offers a good text, an excellent vocabulary and tables of the metres. He who has mastered both the prose and poetry of this book has not only learned Persian, but also

a good deal about Eastern thought, life and manners. From Sa'dī to Jāmi', Hāfi, Jalāl-ad-Dīn Rūmī, Nizāmī and Firdausī is only a short step. Grünert's lithographed "*Neupersische Chrestomathie*" offers a fairly good choice of graded reading matter with a good vocabulary and analysis of metres. The Persian translation of the "*Arabian Nights*" uses a very good prose style on closely and badly lithographed pages. The student will find in Ethé's "*Neupersische Litteratur*" a reliable guide to the popular fables and stories.

4. *History and Travel*.—The best general introduction again is the article "Persia" in the *Britannica*, 11th edition. The similar article in the 9th edition was written by great scholars and is still of great value and interest. For the ancient history of Persia, the more prominent authorities are Eduard Meyer, Justi (in Geiger-Kuhn, 2nd volume) and Prasek. Hall's "*Ancient History of Western Asia*" gives an excellent survey of the whole situation. Sykes' recently published "*History of Persia*" (2 vols., London, 1915) covers also the Muhammedan period down to our times and is most highly recommended. For the Muhammedan Period, besides Sykes, the authorities are the *Britannica* article (9th and 11th eds.) and Aug. Müller's "*Der Islam*." But Malcolm's classical "*History of Persia*" still holds a unique place. For dates and dynasties see Lane-Poole's "*Mohammedan Dynasties*."

Browne's "*A Year among the Persians*" and Morier's most entertaining "*Haji Baba*" are probably the best descriptions of the land and the peoples.

5. *Religious Literature*.—The religious literature of Persia has received little and one-sided attention in European circles. The most popular and practical commentary on the Koran in Persian is the *Mawāhib 'alliyya* by Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī al-Wā'iz. The Persians have their own sets of Hadith. Of these the Ḥayāt al-Qulūb has been translated into English by J. L. Merrick under the title of the *Life and Religion of Mohammed* (Boston, 1850). See No. 57 in the bibliography.

Generally speaking, both systematic theology (Kalām) and law (Fiqh) are usually treated in the Arabic language, and popular books in Persian on these subjects seem to be less accessible than in Turkish. Further Shi'ite piety and religious literature revolve mostly around the cult of 'Alī and the rights and virtues of his descendants. The student should begin with Goldziher's last lecture in his "*Vorle-*

sungen über den Islam," and add to this, perhaps, the article on Shi'a in Hughes' "Dictionary of Islam." As Shi'ite theology is Mu'tazilite in origin, Galland's "Essai sur les Mo'tazélites" (Geneva, 1906) may be read with profit. The most important source on the Mu'tazila is Ibn al-Murtada's *Kitāb al-milāl wal-nihal*. The chapter on the Mu'tazila was separately edited by T. W. Arnold, Leipzig, 1903.

Sufism has almost become the specialty of the Persians whose poetic literature and philosophical spirit are permeated with all shades of mysticism. From the nature of the subject a general introduction that will do justice to it as a whole is practically impossible. Yet see R. A. Nicholson's "Mystics of Islam" in the Quest Series (129). The student will find a good introductory textbook in al-Ghazzālī's *Kimī'yā-i-sa'adat* (translated into English). But the most important Sufi work in Persian is Jalāl ād-Dīn Rūmī's *Mathudis*. The first book of this was translated into English by Redhouse and the second by Professor C. E. Wilson (London, 1910); selections from the whole cycle are given by Whinfield in Trübner's Oriental Series. Next to Jalāl, ād-Dīn comes, perhaps, the poems of his friend, Shams-i-Tabrīzī (ed. by R. S. Nicholson). Among the innumerable mystic treatises (both general works and textbooks of dervish orders) we may mention Jāmī's *Lawā'ih*, translated by Whinfield and Mirzā Muḥ-Kazvīnī (London, 1906).

On Babism and Bahaism the reader may be referred to E. G. Browne's article in Hastings' "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics" (2d vol.) and the same author's earlier volume on the same subject. Browne's article is also a good guide to the literature of these movements as far as Persia is concerned. The later developments of Bahaism do not belong to Persia proper.

